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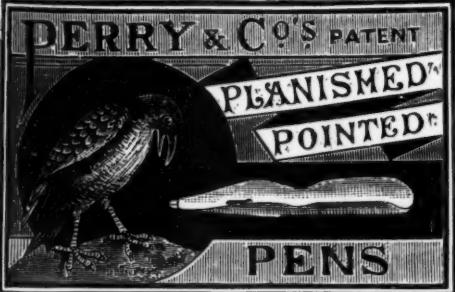
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THE

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ART. I.—MR. R. H. HUTTON AS A RELIGIOUS THINKER.

A N acute observer once remarked to the present writer, that the main pleasure and interest he derived from listening to conversation between men of active minds, consisted not so much in the actual views, arguments, and illustrations put forth by each, as in the indirect revelations of individual character which the conversation furnished. Most of us have probably felt the same thing, whether or no we have reflected on it. To take at once, as an instance, conversation which is familiar to all educated English readers—the discussions of Johnson and his friends—we feel that they would lose half their charm if they consisted merely in arguments and conclusions on the points in debate. Johnson's "no, sir," and "why, sir," his wonderful power of striking straight at the heart of the question in dispute by a crucial illustration, his brusqueness, kindness, ungrinliness; Boswell's dog-like fidelity to his master, his mixture of real self-forgetting enthusiasm and vanity, his active and shrewd, and yet weak and impulsive mind; Goldsmith's love of excelling, his want of readiness in repartee, his undisguised mortification at his own failures; all these dramatic elements dwell in the reader's mind as the pith of the conversations more prominently than the actual solutions which are reached of social or metaphysical questions.

On a somewhat similar principle I have closed Mr. R. H. Hutton's book of Essays on "Guides of English Thought in Matters of Faith," with a yet stronger sense of the interest of the intellectual converse between the critic and the subjects of his criticism, than of Mr. Hutton's own conclusions, valuable though they are. Mr. Hutton's own attitude presents two different sides, each very strongly marked. On the one hand there is a very

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subtle and searching critical power. This satisfies in his purely literary work Goethe's test of true criticism—a quick eye for and appreciation of the *beauties* of his author. Again and again a passage in George Eliot or Matthew Arnold, which had left its mark on the reader, he could not quite tell why, is reproduced by Mr. Hutton, and the complex source of our admiration faithfully delineated by him, whether it be a striking contrast, or fine insight into the inmost recesses of character, or the touching of some of the deepest chords of human feeling, or the purely artistic presentation of a scene of human life. Mr. Hutton's critical power, when he touches the deeper aspects of religious thought, is also very acute, if not quite so remarkable. Many of his readers will recollect how, years ago, he struck at the root of Feuerbach's ingenious atheistic writing, so far as its logical force went, by pointing out that the real analysis of his argument was not "Here are proofs that belief in God and Immortality is based on myths," but rather "*Assuming* that religious belief corresponds to no world beyond this, here is a plausible explanation of its genesis." The present volume, in its criticisms on Carlyle, George Eliot, and, above all, on Matthew Arnold, shows a similar power of detecting and exposing fallacy. Mr. Arnold's "stream of tendency" is laid bare in its true meagreness, and the contrast between his purely literary account of the secret of Jesus, and the self-abandonment preached in the Gospels, is exhibited with great force. How could the latter be more unanswerably proved than by the two lines in which Mr. Hutton remarks that Mr. Arnold regards "serene calm, not passionate worship, as the highest type of moral life?"

But there is another side besides the critical, which stands out in strong relief in Mr. Hutton's writing, and which gives it its special character. I speak of his directly religious view of all that he writes of. I wish at starting to insist on this, as it contains the key, as it seems to me, to his strength and consistency, and, on the other hand, to a certain narrowness of which I shall shortly speak in detail. The religious instinct and the religious perceptions are so strong in him, that he seems at times to hold, with the Ontologists, that man has an intuitive knowledge of God. Revelation is to him "the direct presentation of the divine life to our spirits:" he speaks of God as being "present to the human mind." The work of the Gospel is said to be the "purification of the human vision from weakness and disease, which renders it liable to be dazzled and blinded by the Divine light." Of course, there is a sense in which such phrases could be used by all Christians; but their special significance in Mr. Hutton's case is that this communing with the Divinity seems to him to involve direct and unmistakable guidance of the soul

by the Spirit of God. What in the Catholic world would be the language of the mystics, in times of privileged intercourse with the unseen, becomes an integral portion of Mr. Hutton's religious philosophy. The result of this is at once evident in his treatment of the various writers whose work he reviews. In dealing with George Eliot's life and religious history, he faithfully analyzes, with his unfailing critical accuracy, the progress of her mind, and the sources of her unbelief. He discovers in her a slowness to believe in the unseen—a general tendency in human things as well as divine to act on the proverb "out of sight, out of mind"—a shallowness from the first in her adherence to the creed of her childhood; a tendency to regard it is a burden, and not a privilege. Hence we readily see that her lack of spiritual faith was something very easily harmonized with her general character. Her true greatness is shown by him to consist, for the most part, in the quasi-inspiration which made her dramatic creations so immeasurably superior to anything in the writer; and while we should be unspeakably surprised at hearing that Dinah Morris had lost her faith in God and the world to come, Mr. Hutton makes us feel little or no surprise that the creator of Dinah Morris should have done so. This is all very well as far as it goes; but, allowing for the power of critical analysis it shows, is it not, as an account of the *reasons* for George Eliot's scepticism, a little like the schoolman's account of the reasons for sleep: "Because there is a somnolent tendency in the human constitution?" Is it not like saying: "She did not believe because she had no faith?" A very true reason, no doubt, but not sufficient for those who believe that Christ wished all men to be saved, and that faith is necessary for salvation. Her critic's religious instinct being all-sufficient, when he finds her destitute of a similar instinct, he has, in this matter, no common ground on which to approach her. We get from him no glimpse of those tendencies and qualities in her which, had she made a different use of them, should have accomplished the divine purpose within her. He scarcely seems to suggest that she marred or misused the faculties whereby she might have retained her belief in God; he seems rather to imply that she was destitute of such faculties. I am not desiderating confident speculation on a matter in which confidence would be presumptuous; I am only pointing out that Mr. Hutton's tendency to exaggerate the immediate character of the intimations of the invisible world leaves him without any bridge by which to approach and affect the ultra-sceptical, to whom these intimations seem purely illusory.

And while the characteristic I am speaking of keeps him from entering fully into the sceptic's position, it likewise holds him aloof from the Catholic Church. I am not forgetting his strong

sympathy with, and admiration for, the sanctity which he finds among her members. The Catholic ideal of a saint, and the vivid and constant recognition of the supernatural which the Church exhibits, are congenial to Mr. Hutton's religious imagination; and he readily admires the devotion which he witnessed at Lourdes, and gives credit to M. Lasserre's account of the miracles which have been worked there. But the intellectual standpoint of Catholics is quite foreign to his tone of thought. Strong in his own intimate religious convictions, there is in him no longing for the support of the Church. Those sentiments of almost personal attachment to, and dependence on, *Sancta Mater Ecclesia*, which are so prominent a feature in the writings of the Fathers, and which appealed so strongly to Cardinal Newman while yet an Anglican, would find no responsive echo in Mr. Hutton's writings. The beautiful representation of the Church as the Ark to which the faithful flee for refuge from the storm—which sails triumphant, bearing the elect in safety above the all-destroying flood, has little in common with the isolated and personal nature of his creed. The deep sense of God's presence in the soul, and the clear-cut inferences of an independent but deeply religious mind, which make George Eliot's irreligion seem to be like the absence of a special sense, render the guidance of an infallible Church a sort of redundancy of spiritual help in his eyes. And if that Church differs in its conclusions from his own direct inferences, it is proved, moreover, to be untrustworthy as a guide. It is a "human institution" which comes into conflict with the divine voice within the heart of the individual and thus obviously forfeits its own claim to be trusted.

I shall attempt to trace both the sources and the effects on Mr. Hutton's own influence as a "guide of English thought in matters of faith"—which is unquestionably very considerable—of this singular mixture in him of sympathetic critical power and inability to enter into certain positions other than his own. His mind is remarkably plastic and sympathetic on all matters, save such as are closely connected with his own religious position. Here it is fixed and rigid. He has thought laboriously, conscientiously, and once for all. And this is greatly explained by the character of Mr. Hutton's religious history. He has done what very few have done: he has advanced, by force of the destructive principle of private judgment, along a road essentially constructive—from the Unitarian position to a belief, on grounds of reason, in the Incarnation. In the autobiographical essay on "The Incarnation and Principles of Evidence," which he published more than twenty years ago, he told us the process whereby this had come to pass. He elaborated principles as to the kind of evidence admissible in religious inquiry; and he proceeded to apply them

to his belief concerning the nature of Christ. The conception of God as primarily *in Himself* a God of love—loving His Divine Son in the past ages of eternity before men existed—was an idea which powerfully attracted him to the Trinitarian view. The reconciliation in the doctrines concerning the Man-God, of belief in man's lowliness and unworthiness, with belief in his dignity and privileges, was another consideration which drew him towards his new creed. And he devised with evident care and labour a theory of evidence by which to justify the beliefs to which his sympathies drew him. This is, as I have said, a very unusual history. Private reasoning has, in many cases, as with Luther and the other Reformers, led to the discarding of Church doctrines as unscriptural accretions. On the other hand, it has led men from lower levels to accept, by reaction from rationalism, the authority of Scripture and the authority of the Church. But that it should lead to accepting individual Christian doctrines while something of the rationalistic attitude is preserved with reference to the Church, and even to Scripture itself, is very remarkable. And the Herculean nature of the task is at once apparent, as it involves the finding of a totally new road to doctrines which have ever in the past rested upon authority, in one form or another. A more individual or independent journey forward in religious truth has rarely been accomplished. With vivid and intense religious instincts marching in the van as his “pillar of fire,” to guide the course of his speculations, his almost rationalistic mind follows with infinite labour and indefatigable obedience over ground which is uncongenial to all that savours of rationalism. The journey is, however, accomplished. His intellect has adopted and justified the position congenial to his moral nature; and it is, perhaps, due to the very intensity of the effort, that his line of thought on these subjects has become almost a part of himself, and the necessary medium through which he views all else.

The purely sympathetic side of Mr. Hutton's work is most strongly shown in literary criticism which has no direct connection with religion. I have already noted his power of bringing before the reader the true analysis of his pleasure in particular works or passages; but for the average reader he does far more. His own perceptions, as well as his powers of analysis, are acuter than those of most of us, and he shows us what to look for as well as explains what we have found. Take, for example, his estimate of the general effect on the reader of George Eliot's masterpiece, “Adam Bede,” few could read it without feeling their own comparatively misty impressions brought out and defined with quite a new freshness, and their minds sharpened and directed for a fresh and far more profitable perusal of the book.

I quote it, in spite of its length, as an admirable specimen of Mr. Hutton's powerful and sympathetic criticism :—

The group of characters, conceived in themselves, and without reference to the narrative, seems to me perfect, a rural cartoon of marvellous simplicity, and yet stately in its beauty. The strong-headed, manly, sharp-tempered, secular carpenter, with his energetic satisfaction in work, his impatience of dreamers, and his early passion for Hetty's earthly loveliness; the tender-hearted, mystic-minded Seth, who so readily unlooses his hold of his one dream of happiness; the pretty, vain, little, pleasure-loving dairymaid, with her inarticulate love of luxury, and dread of shame, so shallow that she cannot even feel a passing anticipation of the fate before her, but flutters into it like a moth into the candle; the spiritual, transparent-minded, meditative, yet clear-sighted, Wesleyan factory-girl, whose delicate sensitiveness to the inward condition and wants of others never ruffles her own distinct apprehension of the personal duty before her; the good-natured, self-deceiving, weak young squire, with his patronising generosity, and his disposition to comfort himself, in his self-reproach, with the good opinion of those who are totally ignorant of his grounds for self-reproach; and the noble, easy-minded, tolerant rector, who feels so little impulse to exert moral influence over others that the Wesleyan factory-girl is a problem to him, and who, even where he has natural authority, rather shrinks from the intrusion necessary to exert it, with the many other vividly painted figures more or less in the background; the quick-witted, fretful Lisbeth, with her excessive fondness for the son she fears, and her half contempt for the son whose religiousness she regards as an insurance to the family; the more quick-witted and more audacious farmer's wife, whose reverence for the piety of her niece is so strongly mixed with dislike of eccentricity and dissent; these, with the slighter and equally true outlines, with which the picture is filled up, form one of the truest and most typical groups of English life I have ever seen delineated.

* * * * *

The greatest effort and greatest success of the book consist, however, in the wonderful power of the contrast between Hetty and Dinah. From the first introduction of Dinah preaching to the crowd on the village green, and winning her little success over the vain heart of the blacksmith's daughter, and the first appearance of Hetty tossing her butter in the dairy, full of conscious delight at her little success in riveting Captain Donnithorne's admiration, the interest centres in these two figures.

What common measure of human nature can apply to them both? Near as they are in position, and equal in attractions, and belonging alike to the same half-educated class, they represent evidently the highest and lowest grade in the scale of spiritual nature, and thoughts that fill the mind of the one do not even rouse the faintest echo in the nature of the other. The art of the contrast is the greater, that it is never forced on our attention, and never exaggerated. Yet from the first it is growing upon us. Dinah's gentle rejection of the one brother

whom she cannot love opens the tale, while Hetty's conduct to the other, whom she cannot love, forms its climax of interest. The interest is the deeper and truer that it is not the common-place antithesis between right and wrong, but between the finest and most delicate of spiritual consciences, and that absolute inaccessibility to moral or spiritual thought which marks a soft shallow pleasure-loving nature preoccupied with self-love. The moral *material* of which the two girls are made seems chargeable with the difference rather than any conduct of their own. Can any meeting-point be found between the two? . . . This is in a great measure the theme of the story, and the scene in which it is first fully realized, where Dinah and Hetty are pictured in the adjoining bedrooms, each in their separate world, is one of the most powerful pieces of imaginative writing which the present generation has produced.

There is in this analysis the acuteness, self-forgetfulness, and entire dramatic sympathy, which are the highest critical gifts. The features of the work are viewed, not in reference to opinions or hobbies of the critic, but entirely from the author's standpoint, and from the point of view of her own success in her own attempt; an obvious standard, it may be said, to set up for the critic, but one, nevertheless, very rarely attended to in practice.

Again, how powerful and terse is the description of Carlyle—true, so far as it goes, though some will hold the estimate of his power to be insufficient. "In origin, a peasant who originated a new sort of culture, and created a most artificial style, full at once of affectation, and of genuine power; in faith, a Calvinistic sceptic, who rejected Christianity while clinging ardently to the symbolic style of the Hebrew teaching; in politics, a pioneer of democracy, who wanted to persuade the people to trust themselves to the almost despotic guidance of Lord-protectors whom he could not tell them how to find; in literature, a rugged sort of poet who could not endure the chains of rhythm, and even jeered at rhyme—Carlyle certainly stands out a paradoxical figure—solitary, proud, defiant, vivid."

As a final specimen of Mr. Hutton, quite at his best as a sympathetic critic, I will take his account of Cardinal Newman's style. He notes truly how inseparable in Newman's case are the style and the man, and the description is as much an account of the mode in which the Cardinal's thought advances as of his way of writing. And this makes it the more interesting as showing the critic's faithful estimate of the fibre and nature of Newman's mind; while the latter part of the same essay shows an inability equally remarkable to enter into the actual religious position which he finally adopted. The former calls out the critic's singular gift of dramatic sympathy; the latter falls outside the limits of that intense and narrow spiritual limelight which makes

his own religious convictions so vivid, and leaves views outside its path in comparative darkness. Here is the passage :—

Newman's is a style that more nearly represents a clear atmosphere than any other which I know in English literature. It flows round you, it presses gently on every side of you, and yet, like a steady current, carries you in one direction too. On every facet of your mind and heart you feel the light touch of his purpose, and yet you cannot escape the general drift of his movement more than the ship can escape the drift of the tide. He never said anything more characteristic than when he expressed his conviction that, though there are a hundred difficulties in faith, into all of which he could enter, the hundred difficulties are not equivalent to a single doubt. That saying is most characteristic even of his style, which seems to be sensitive in the highest degree to a multitude of hostile influences which are at once appreciated and resisted, while one predominant and over-ruling power moves steadily on.

After reading this delicately sympathetic estimate of the master-mind of the Oxford Movement, the Catholic reader comes with something like a shock of surprise on Mr. Hutton's account of the religious position which that mind ultimately found rest in—that of submission to the authority of the Church. The practical action of the Church's infallibility is quite misunderstood by Mr. Hutton. He is, it is true, too well read in Catholic theology to commit himself definitely to the statement that the Holy Father is held to be infallible in acts due merely to his own private judgment; but the general rhetoric of his account amounts to little less than this. The Cardinal is described as having "led hundreds back to surrender their judgment to a Pope whose rashness Dr. Newman's own ripe culture ultimately condemned;" the Papacy is spoken of as an "infallible authority to which" Catholics "can appeal on points in dispute." The writer insists on the fatal consequences of attaching importance to "the infallibility of a Church of which the earthly corner-stone may be such a Judas as Alexander Borgia;" he appeals triumphantly to the fact that, among the Irish Nationalists, "the infallible Church has not succeeded in bringing home even the most elementary of spiritual duties to the hearts and consciences of the people." Throughout his whole treatment of the subject, indeed, we find expressed or implied an estimate of the professed scope and efficacy of infallibility very different from that held by Catholics—as a restless, conspicuous, drastic power, working miracles at every turn, dependent on the judgment or caprice of an individual, performing crucial experiments constantly by which its claim should stand or fall, accountable to every bystander who may say, "If the Pope does not interfere there, where things are so bad, how can he be truly infallible?" It is a surely obvious

answer to make that, as such a conception of the infallibility of the Holy See could not for a moment justify itself in the face of the facts of the seventeen years during which it has been a defined dogma, it could scarcely have resulted, as did the Catholic doctrine, from the ever-increasing definiteness—in the face of the facts of eighteen centuries—of the conception of the Church's unfailing guidance. The very fact that the dogma has defined itself in the course of human history in a great measure explains its limitations. A man who should come to us and complain that God's Providence cannot be believed in, because he has been just and unfortunate while his neighbour has been a scamp and has thriven, is not to be met on his own ground. We should not question his facts as the last appeal in the matter. We should rather point to the Scripture of thousands of years ago in which it is written : "There are just men to whom evils happen as though they had done the works of the wicked ; and there are wicked men who are secure as though they had done the deeds of the just ;" or to St. Paul's resigned reflection that "His ways are not as our ways."

The belief in God's unfailing Providence has never excluded the recognition that its action is often a mystery to us, and that it cannot always be discovered in the *minutiae* of life. "Though He slay me, yet will I trust Him," said holy Job. There was, in the depths of his religious nature, an assurance of the goodness of God which left his trust untouched in the face of afflictions such as few men have had to endure. Cardinal Newman has told us that the "revolution of empires, the rise and fall of States, the periods and eras, the progresses and the retrogressions of the world's history . . . the great outlines and the results of human affairs," are due to God's Providence. And yet, in all these things, "incidental sin" is, as he says, "over-abundant." The sin is not from God, the great outlines are. If any one fixed his attention on the excesses of the Crusaders, and proceeded to argue that either Providence should have interfered to prevent them, or that no Divine Providence should be recognized in the Crusades, he would surely be over hasty. He would be insisting on an unreal presumption of "all or none." Either Providence is apparent everywhere, or it has no existence. Either it must obviously guide each detail or it accomplishes nothing. There is no allowance for a Power which holds it wisest to act by natural means, and without upsetting the natural order; which accomplishes great aims without destroying those sinful possibilities of nature which are necessarily left to themselves for other ends equally important.

And so, too, with the infallibility of the Church. Those who recognize a teaching Church as the normal supplement to the dictates of conscience, hold further that the idea of a Church fully

developed leads to that of infallibility ; as the conception of the God who reigns in our conscience logically involves His never-failing personal care for us and His providence for the world He has made. And in each case the idea of guidance is consistent with the working through natural and human forces rather than in a conspicuous and miraculous way. Theologians are express in asserting that no direct *inspiration* is presupposed in the exercise of infallibility. The divinely protected acts are brought about by human means, by the arguments of theologians, the events in Church history, and the personal wisdom of the Pontiff —any of which are in themselves liable to error and even sin ; and inerrancy, as being a negative quality, does not necessarily imply the positive qualities of perfect opportuneness and completeness in the acts themselves. In the great definitions and *ex cathedrā* decisions—the outlines of doctrinal development—infallibility is exhibited directly and unmistakably, and it acts elsewhere in the spiritual guidance of Christians, though it may not be evident to all, and in every case, in what elements of her teaching and action that guidance consists, just as particular Providences are ever acting on the lives of men, though they may only be detected by the reverent and watchful. But we can no more invoke it in *minutiae* of our own determining than we can call on God for a miracle ; and we little know in either case what might be the evil consequences, the more important ends frustrated, were such rash and ignorant requests granted.

So much as to the general position and principle to be noted. Apart from this, Mr. Hutton's criticisms fall wide of the sphere of infallibility as it has been definitely explained by theologians. We cannot appeal, as he asserts, on all points in dispute, because the Church's infallibility in defining extends only so far as those utterances which enable her to preserve and protect the *depositum fidei*. We can *not* test her claim by her success in keeping the Irish people from a political fanaticism which is at times immoral, because her power of definition in morals cannot extend further than the deciding in what right morality consist. The Church has again and again asserted the principle that the existing law must be obeyed where it does not enjoin actual sin ; but she can no more physically compel obedience to her principles on the part of particular persons than she can physically prevent apostasy from the faith. So far as the general wisdom of the Church authorities might be criticized for a policy of non-interference in so great a scandal, no doubt opinions may differ. No one claims infallible guidance for every detail of the Pope's policy in the discipline of the Church. Still, most of us will be disposed to attribute to the Holy See, even in such a case as I am considering, a farther-sighted judgment than others can claim as to the effects

of actions pregnant with consequences, and as to how it should allow itself to interfere in such cases, and the time at which interference would be really effective.*

But in refusing to accept Mr. Hutton's challenge to stake all on the particular issues he raises, we may seem to be laying ourselves open to his other charge—that infallibility is useless. Where it might do good, he seems to say, it does nothing, and where it acts it does no good. “I cannot, for the life of me, see,” he writes, “how the infallible human authority for dogma could, even if it existed, be of any service to rebellious, misguided, passionate men, unless it could infuse the grace to understand spiritually, as well as authorize the right form of words to be understood.” This is no new difficulty in Mr. Hutton's writings. In the preface to his “Theological Essays”—more than ten years ago—he desiderated “moral infallibility, infallibility of the will and the affections,” as the necessary correlative to intellectual infallibility. The Catholic Church, he says, does not claim this, and hence the especial danger among Catholics of “assenting with the mind to what the heart ignores.” Again he asks “how her presumed infallibility helps” to “put an abiding purity” into her children, to “make them holy with the holiness of Christ?” which is, of course, the final aim of all religion.

Mr. Hutton's language on this aspect of the matter, taken in conjunction with the statements I have cited earlier, implies a view of infallibility so exaggerated on one side—that of the definite and crystallized statements in which infallibility is exhibited, and so defective in another—that of the less palpable or definable, but very real action of infallibility in general spiritual guidance, that the best reply to it will be the attempt to describe some of the ways in which the doctrine he considers does affect the practical life of a Catholic. It is not my purpose to attempt a theological disquisition; I shall only endeavour to point out briefly some of the points, and the *kind* of points, at which the action of infallibility is found by experience to come in contact with the religious life of an instructed Catholic.

“It is excellent to have a giant's strength,” says the poet; “but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant.” The strongest among us can be tender and gentle, and can do more in many cases to help the weaker by adapting their strength to the requirements of the moment, than by exerting to the full a power which would make action synonymous with violence. And so the Church, which has the wonderful prerogative of infallible decision as the fullest expression and most unmistakable exhibition of her powers of guidance, does not at every moment give utterance to fresh

* Since these lines were in type the Holy Office has recorded its judgment in these matters.

defined intellectual propositions on matters of faith.* Considering the far-reaching nature of every categorical statement of truth in this universe, if its import be realized, such a procedure would involve an iron rule destroying rather than strengthening the spiritual life. It would imply, too, as Mr. Hutton suggests, a very one-sided and purely intellectual action, which might do more harm than good. But, on the other hand, her province extends far wider than this in the personal direction of Catholics, and her activity as an infallible guide has a side in this connection, which Mr. Hutton entirely ignores. He asks how infallibility helps her to make men holy, and seems to propound the dilemma—"either the object of the Church is to secure a certain number of cold intellectual assents by its infallible power, and, if so, it does not help men to be holy; or, if its object is to make its children holy, infallibility does not help it." In reply, I begin by saying, not as a mere profession which a religious body must make in general, but as a fact which I hope to show unmistakably in detail, that the sanctification of souls is *the one* object, and that intellectual assents to doctrine have never been viewed except as *one* of many means to this end; and, further, that the province of infallibility is not, in our ordinary theological text-books, confined at all to intellectual *formulae*, but does bear direct relation to means for sanctification. Let me, on the first head, quote the testimony of one who, from being a Protestant, became a Catholic.

I bear my own testimony [writes Cardinal Newman] to what has been brought home to me most vividly as a matter of fact since I have been a Catholic—viz., that that mighty world-wide Church, like her divine Author, regards, consults for, labours for, the individual soul; she looks at the souls for whom Christ died, and who are made over to her, and her one object, for which everything is sacrificed—appearances, reputation, worldly triumph—is to acquit herself well of this most awful responsibility. Her one duty is to bring forward the elect to salvation, and to make them as many as she can: to take offences out of their path, to warn them of sin, to rescue them from evil, to convert them, to teach them, to feed them, to protect them, to perfect them.†

* I am purposely keeping clear of the controversy which was carried on twenty years ago among English Catholic theologians as to the exact extent of Infallibility. My criticism would hold good on either of the views maintained. Even the "maximistic" side admitted that infallible pronouncements are "far rarer" than other official acts of the Pope, and that he must speak as *Doctor Universalis* and not merely as *Gubernator Doctrinalis* if his decision is to be accounted infallible.—See Dr. Ward's "Essays on the Church's Doctrinal Authority," pp. 452, 506.

† See "Difficulties of Anglicans," vol. i. p. 207.

And with reference to Mr. Hutton's second question—how does infallibility help the Church to accomplish this aim—to sanctify and save souls?—let me first cite, again, from a standard work in the hands of all Catholics, an account of the main features of Church guidance :

The Church [writes Perrone] when she discharges her functions of teaching, performs a threefold office : the office of witness, of judge, of *magistra*. She performs the office of witness in professing those truths of the faith which she has received from Christ; that of judge in deciding those controversies which affect the faith or are related thereto; that of *magistra* in her daily ministry, wherein *by word of mouth and by her action she instructs the faithful in those things which conduce to their training in pure doctrine and morality, and leads them, as it were, by the hand along the path of eternal salvation*. That Christ has endowed His Church with infallibility for these several offices Catholics maintain and non-Catholics deny.

Surely this account of infallibility by a Catholic theologian is a very different one from Mr. Hutton's. The Protestant writer entirely omits from his estimate of its effects the sphere of practical guidance by her daily ministry; and yet this is just the sphere in which the infallible Church has the most constant and immediate communication with her children. The liturgical and sacramental system, and the ascetic discipline of the Church, which combine to impress, in the words of a well-known theologian, "a definite interior character" on Catholics, form a large part of this practical guidance—of the Church's *magisterium ordinarium* as it is called. That infallible teaching as to the true ethical ideal which is definitely declared in the canonization of saints and in the approval of religious orders, is likewise impressed upon the minds of the faithful in the daily devotional life of the Church. Frequenting the Sacraments, carrying out the devotions and dwelling on the doctrines proper to the season or the saint commemorated, learning principles of self-improvement in the confessional—from the bare avoidance of sin to the study of the "interior life," adopting at fitting times the prescribed remedies for spiritual sloth in systematic meditation and retreat from the world—these are obvious particulars in which Catholics may profit by Church guidance. And here are, surely, means of ethical training designed to aid in the assimilation of revealed doctrine. There is no divorce of the intellectual from the moral order. The Church cannot, indeed, ensure either acceptance of the intellectual *formulæ*, or conformity to the rules of the spiritual life which she lays down for the fruitful acceptance and apprehension of those *formulæ*. But this is only saying, what scarcely needs saying, that she cannot make all who are

Catholics by profession Catholics in spirit and practice. Still, this does not affect the issue. A system must be judged of by those who do their best to profit by it. No doctor—though he be infallibly wise—can infallibly secure that his patient should take his medicine regularly; but I need hardly insist that his skill should be measured by his success with obedient, and not by his failure with disobedient, patients. “The same words mean totally different things to the humble mind and the arrogant mind,” says Mr. Hutton, “to the selfish mind and to the self-denying.” Hence, he concludes that an infallible exposition of doctrine is no security that that doctrine will be spiritually profitable. Most true. But the remedy lies not in less Church guidance, but in that wider and more personal guidance which he has omitted to consider, which enables the Catholic to be humble and not arrogant, self-denying and not selfish. Mr. Hutton is considering the case of one who is ordered a mixture with mutually complementary ingredients, and has taken but one. The remedy is not to leave off the one, but to take both.

I have said “mutually complementary,” and this leads to a consideration of importance. If, it may be asked, personal sanctity is the one aim, and if the Church’s moral discipline leads to this, why trouble at all about intellectual definitions? Why overweight us with such problems which would seem to be a mere distraction of the mind from practical duties, or an oppressing it with details irrelevant to the sanctification of the day’s work?

The reply to this question is that the intellectual and the ascetic guidance of the Church are, as I have just said, mutually complementary. The ascetic training enables him who goes through it to enter with spiritual perception into intellectual propositions which were else barren and cold. But the converse, too, holds good. Dogma may help the believer to be ascetic, may form and does form an integral portion of the spiritual life. I speak, throughout, as Mr. Hutton does, of *facts*, of *effects*, of actual phenomena. Take the definition of the real presence of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament. How many find this an actual *stimulus* to concentrated devotion and prayer before the Altar, of union with God, and submission of the will to His, which they could never attain to without it. The belief is interwoven with the devotional life of the most ordinary Catholic, in the practices of Benediction and Exposition and in daily Mass, and it reaches the height of its influence in the orders of Perpetual Adoration in which, day and night, prayer is offered without intermission to our Lord, present in the Tabernacle.

Take, again, another of the doctrines which Luther rejected—the doctrine of the priesthood. Doubtless it contains in it certain intellectual propositions; but who, that reads the life of St. Charles Borromeo, of St. Ignatius of Loyola, of St. Francis Xavier, of St. Philip Neri, of the army of saints who were the champions of what has been called the counter-reformation within the Catholic Church, can deny that the conception of the priesthood, and the correlative Catholic teaching as to its true ideal—of its constant self-renunciation and divorce from all earthly ties, of the dignity of the office, of its eternal character, of the mystic and indelible mark it gives to the soul—a priest being *sacerdos in eternum*—of the sacramental aid which priests alone can give—that all this and much else which the reformers destroyed, gave to the actual spiritual life of the saints I speak of a character quite foreign to the Protestant? I am not attempting to prove that it is a *better* character. Many will say that celibacy is unnatural, that the idea of the priesthood is unscriptural formalism, that the ascetic idea implies over-confidence in the power of man. But even those who maintain this must allow that the character impressed by the beliefs they condemn is something *sui generis*; that the beliefs do not remain something apart from the spiritual life of those who endeavour to realize them, but have a very important influence on that life.

I have not space to pursue this in detail. What is true of the two dogmas I have referred to is true in its measure of others. The system of meditation on dogma and of applying to practical life the fruits of meditation, means nothing else than the connecting intellectual beliefs with the life of the affections.

There is another consideration which Mr. Hutton overlooks in his disparagement of the value of formal definitions. A *formula* may protect a living belief from the inroads of Rationalism. It may protect life though it cannot by itself give life. Thus Newman has told us that the passing over as nought of the *formulæ* whereby the Church has crystallized into unbending shape her witness to our Lord's divinity, has rendered the belief in it so vague among many Protestants as almost to fade away altogether. Mr. Froude has borne witness that Carlyle recognized in his old age that the definition which secured the word *homoousion* and condemned the word *homoiousion* was vital to Christian faith. As a young man he laughed at so much bitter strife about a diphthong; his riper wisdom saw that Christianity itself was at stake.* Again, the awful alternative of Heaven or Hell—

* "He told me now that he perceived Christianity itself to have been at stake. If the Arians had won, it would have dwindled away into a legend."—Carlyle's "Life in London," vol. ii., p. 462.

Purgatory being eliminated—has made Protestants, within the knowledge of all of us, speak with confidence of death as a passage to Heaven. The absence of the Catholic dogma as to Purgatory has so diminished their realization of the doctrine of Eternal Punishment that the Protestant hell has been wittily described as “a place of eternal torment, eternally untenanted.” Here are beliefs secured by Church decisions, and whose absence touches matters vital to Christianity. A still stronger case is the doctrine of grace. The Calvinistic conception of God with its awful sternness, with the fatalistic ethical temper it generates in its votaries, could not coexist with the Catholic definition that “God wishes all men to be saved.” Here is a matter affecting the whole moral temper of the believer, and those who have lived where Calvinism has flourished as a popular creed attest the gloomy fatalism, and the paralysis of moral effort, as well as the unchristian lack of charity which it begets. Something of this was tersely and terribly expressed in a verbal controversy between a Calvinistic minister and a clergyman who was in distress and horror at his views. The latter broke off the discussion after some very plain statement as to the implacable God of the Calvinists, who doomed before creation the mass of mankind to inevitable perdition, with the exclamation, “Stop! I see how it is! Your God is my devil.” Luther’s conception of man being ridden alternately by God and the devil is little less disastrous in its effect on morality. How can the decisions which render such beliefs impossible, which secure intact the conceptions of the goodness of God, the value and possibility of moral effort, the reality of moral responsibility, be considered as outside the truly religious and spiritual life, as valueless in themselves without the assistance in him who receives them of those very moral qualities which they have so necessary a share in begetting?

One further effect of trust in the Church’s guidance may be noted, and this is the definite ethical ideal which it begets. Mr. Hutton owns that the “only attitude of mind in which we can hope to profit by revelation is that of profound humility towards an infallible authority above us;” but he contends that that authority is wielded by God and not by men. Catholics will assent to this so far as words go, but will deny that in ordinary cases God’s authoritative guidance can be clearly understood, if his Church, through whom He speaks, be ignored. And this is a very practical consideration. We cannot at the same moment be disputing and submitting. One who sees on the one side of him the Broad Church, whose gospel of self-reliance has issued in Matthew Arnold’s version of Christianity, and on the other side the passivity of the Low Church school, which tends to make the individual soul a mere instrument on which the powers above and

below play alternately, requires a good deal of independent thought before he learns to aim at the mixture of diffidence in self and confidence in God which Mr. Hutton rightly judges to be the way to spiritual progress. On the other hand, in the Catholic Church the ideal is unmistakable, and the means proper to its pursuit are, as we have seen, ready at hand. The energy which another will expend in finding the right path, in independent thought and discussion, is directed in the case of the Catholic towards submission and action. I do not deny that there may be those of rare spiritual gifts, who, as the prophets of old, before the details of Church guidance existed, may find in their own goodness and reliance on God enough to help them; but for ordinary human beings the accumulated experiences of the saints as embodied in the Church's ascetic discipline and teaching is a legacy for which they are grateful, and which they would not venture to neglect. Mr. Hutton's own criticism of George Eliot's attempt to supply the place of God by her own moral thoughtfulness, may, in its measure, be applied to those who think to substitute for Church guidance principles derived from their own reflections. "A human being of strong ethical convictions," he writes, "who thinks that God is to be replaced by his own moral thoughtfulness, must be always exerting himself to be more and more morally thoughtful; and must injure himself by giving to his moral thoughtfulness a highly artificial character." And so surely theories purely individual on self-improvement and the best means to it—theories apart from the growth of ascetic theology as a science in the course of the history of the Saints, run the risk of being unreal and artificial. Mr. Hutton again and again maintains that we cannot form a theory as to what is above us—that we must study it as learners understanding better and better, but never hoping to have that comprehension which justifies a theory, and which implies that we are *above* what we explain.* And on this principle the personal study of the saints, and the generalizations we can make as to the road to perfection from the lives of these masters of perfection, and the adoption of the method they have indicated, is surely a more hopeful way and a more intelligent way of progressing than to theorize beforehand on phenomena of which the individual can only have very limited experience. It is more hopeful to cultivate the spirit of self-abandonment and love of the Cross, advocated by all the saints without exception, and to balance it in practice by the common sense of St. Theresa and the teaching of moral theologians that mortification should not interfere with the practical duties of life,

* See e.g., "Theological Essays," p. 81 (Second Edition).

than to hesitate in the first matter because love of suffering seems to justify the excesses of the Fakkeers, and to hesitate conditionally in the next because we do not see on what theory practical duties should come before the virtue of self-denial, if self-denial be accorded the high place it holds in Catholic spirituality. M. Jourdain talked before he knew how his jaws and tongue were to be moved for each vowel and consonant, and he might have talked fairly well and yet had insuperable difficulty in reconciling to his own mind the principles on which his instructor explained their movements. Practice comes before theory in such cases ; and much more so where confessedly we have not enough experience of practice to give us the number of facts requisite for a theory, or where the facts are to a great extent above us and beyond us as a whole.

To conclude, and to sum up, as briefly as possible, the effects on Mr. Hutton's judgment and influence of the characteristics I have been considering. The fact that his religion is of his own manufacture, if it makes his attitude somewhat wooden and narrow, is, nevertheless, in some respects, a source of strength. No one knows a book as well as he who has written it, and no one can grasp and realize his own beliefs as well as one who has thought out every step for himself. Mr. Hutton has studied and understood the modern sceptical school. The sceptical position, into whatsoever form it is thrown, amounts to much the same thing. The actual difficulties urged against belief in God and in another world, it is true, vary with different ages. But the denial of religious first principles—of the reality and authority of conscience, with all its corollaries—is, at all times, the foundation of religious scepticism. Affirm these truths, and doubts are only difficulties ; deny them, and difficulties at once become doubts. The old Romans read in Lucretius much what our grandfathers read in Hume, so far as the essence of unfaith is concerned. In dealing, then, with modern Agnostics, Mr. Hutton never flinches. He feels that their apparently overwhelming strength is destroyed, once it is confessed that they refuse to see the true import of the religious nature and spiritual perceptions of mankind ; and that if these perceptions are allowed no self-asserting and self-justifying character, it is useless to argue in detail with those who ignore them ; for the controversy will be, at best, undecided. He asserts the reality of these instincts, and ruthlessly exposes the insufficiency of the account which the Agnostics give of them. He concentrates the battle on the really critical points, refusing to stake the result, as his enemies would wish, on the issue of a side-skirmish. He does not, indeed, refuse to discuss minor issues ; but he never lets us forget the relative importance of the points in dispute, or the logical lie of the argument. The writing of one

whose religious grasp was less nervous and firm could not have a similar effect.

But, on the other hand, Mr. Hutton suffers in the conflict, and suffers very seriously, from the weakness of isolation. Both in its influence on the imagination, and in its materials for actual reasoning against the various shades of infidelity, a purely personal creed labours under heavy disadvantages. The history of the Catholic Church, as a history of spiritual discovery and spiritual power, witnessing to the reality of that world from whence it professes to draw its strength ; the exhibition of its diffused influence throughout the earth, of its infinitely varied activity in every place ; the schools of theology, the heroic labours of the saints, the hundreds of religious orders ministering to different classes of spiritual needs, the incessant work of the ministry at altar, confessional, and pulpit, submitted to an organization whose perfection has been the admiration of all, its life centred in the Holy See, as every nerve and organ in the complex frame of man has its life of sensation in the brain—all this has an effect on the imagination which answers in some sense on the side of religion to the imposing display of modern science, in whose name the “advanced” thinkers would discredit belief in the supernatural. In many minds the effect of the one on the imagination will be to some extent counteracted by the effect of the other. As scientific discovery is a witness to scientific truth, so the saints and the triumphs of the Church are a witness to religious truth. Joubert’s often-quoted saying, “One should be fearful of being wrong in poetry when one differs from the poets, and in religion when one differs from the saints,” expresses something of this. I do not deny that, in their degree, all Christians alike may take refuge in the thought of Christian achievement ; but the Catholic Church evinces spiritual activity in forms much more striking and conspicuous, more definite and systematic, and, as Catholics would contend, in a far higher degree than less disciplined bodies, in which opposite ideals in matters of importance to a great extent neutralize the effect of moral action.

But a yet greater disadvantage of an individual and self-evolved creed seem to consist in its want of adaptability to other minds of various degrees of strength and different moral temperament. It would carry me too far to develop fully my meaning on this head. I can only indicate it briefly. Mr. Hutton’s singular union of great mental power and strong ethical instincts has enabled him to bear an intellectual examination of Agnosticism which, where minds are weaker or religion less strong, might shake all belief. Many may follow him in his considerations on Feuerbach and Renan, and find, at the end of their reading, that the action of God on the soul, which is so certain to Mr. Hutton,

appears to them doubtful. Renan's view of Christ has been presented, and Feuerbach's rationalistic account of the whole supernatural world, and the imagination of the reader proceeds to grasp the analysis of the deeper spiritual view with weakened powers. It ceases to discriminate what is plausible from what is true. The religious view may appear to it, at this stage, but one form of the intellectual kaleidoscope, instead of being, as it is to Mr. Hutton, the unmistakable light through whose medium all other views are seen. In short, many could not adapt themselves to Mr. Hutton's method from intellectual or moral weakness. Here the safeguard afforded by that wise and systematic moral training, on which the Church insists before such investigations are undertaken, may be twofold. It may render more clear and articulate the spiritual and moral side of human nature; while on the intellectual side, individual direction will decide how far detailed argument is suited for the intellectual strength of the particular mind, how much thought will have a fair prospect of digestion, and how much would merely blur and confuse such insight as it already has into the question.

It is more and more recognized that the attitude and disposition of a man's mind in many cases both indicates more and aids more in insight than explicit statement or explicit arguments. Dr. Martineau rejects the miraculous in Scripture, and denies Christ's Divinity; Voltaire believed in God; and yet there is that in their mode of believing in God which must keep them poles asunder, and which would bring Dr. Martineau's religion into more closer sympathy with Mr. Hutton's—widely different though their statements of doctrine are. Again, Cardinal Newman has shown, with unsurpassed force, that infidels, as Gibbon, fail to gauge accurately arguments which they grasp intellectually, purely for want of those earnest and religious dispositions which are as necessary to the intellect in viewing religious truth as light to the eyes. This being so, the power of a Church which comprehends an ethical training and ascetic code, as well as a statement of doctrine, is at once evident. What Mr. Hutton's religious nature finds ready made in him, requires for many a course of training, as one can paint or draw by natural genius in a degree which is impossible to another without much practice and the study of perspective.

My limits require that I should now take leave of Mr. Hutton, though there is much more which I should have wished to say did space permit. I have dwelt at disproportionate length upon his fundamental religious position, as it seems to me to afford the key to all those points in which a Catholic would diverge from him. Had I reviewed principally his incidental criticisms I

should have had little to say but to echo his own keen and incisive remarks.

For the rest, if he has *les défauts de ses qualités*, if deep and laborious thought has given his convictions a somewhat stereotyped character, this very fact has its influence for good. In days when sentimental sympathy with every possible religious view, and consistent action on none, is the intellectual fashion, when aesthetic admiration of contradictory ideals so often destroys the possibility of moral action, it is indeed refreshing to find a religion in its measure clear and consistent, without, on the one hand, the bigotry which refuses to look at other opinions, or, on the other, the maudlin weakness which sympathizes with and is carried away by each in turn. Mr. Hutton's choice of spiritual diet may be somewhat Spartan, and unsuited to weak digestions; but it is invigorating and sustaining to those who are equal to it. The sentimental school tastes religion after religion—Buddhism, Mahomedanism, and Christianity, one after another—and digests none. Mr. Hutton at least supports and strengthens the spiritual life of the more intellectual class; modern sentimentalism produces very varied powers of spiritual appreciation at the cost of spiritual starvation.

There has been, perhaps, an additional and partly unconscious reason which has led me to dwell so long on one point; and this is, that I cannot help thinking that the personal depth of religious appreciation which gives Mr. Hutton's writings so much power, might very well be united with a less individual creed so far as its genesis goes, and with what I must call a broader and more adaptable system. The Catholic system, which, without lessening individuality, concentrates it rather on the spiritual life than on the fundamental articles of the creed, which leads the individual in *lieu* of proving our Lord's divinity, as Mr. Hutton does, with elaborate and original arguments, rather to concentrate his originality on realizing the practical effects on his own life of this doctrine, which he accepts on Church authority, seems to me to afford equal scope for the active and earnest thought of such a mind as Mr. Hutton's, while it combines with this the advantages of system and pliability which I have already considered. The union in Mr. Hutton of the two characters might have made him, I believe, one of the most effective champions of modern times against the Infidel movement.

WILFRID WARD.

ART. II.—MEMOIRS OF A ROYALIST.

Mémoires d'un Royaliste. Par le COMTE DE FALLOUX.
Paris : Perrin et Cie. 1888.

POLITICAL memoirs, showing us the great actors on the stage of history, in everyday mufi behind the scenes, add the missing element of human interest to the drama of nations. Hence their value depends, not only on their authority as a contemporary narrative of events, but on their fulness of detail in regard to such minor incidents as bring before us, in their moments of intimate relaxation, those personages whom we have hitherto seen only when appearing before the public in the decorous restraint of their histrionic characters.

In regard to this form of interest, the Comte de Falloux's Memoirs are entitled to a high place ; for their author, while brought by his birth and talents into close relations with the leading men of his time, had the clearness of mental vision, and critical perception of the hidden springs of character, which enable him to portray them with keen and life-like touches. The graces of diction which gained for the biographer of Pius V. and historian of Louis XVI. the honour of a *fauteuil* among the Forty, are displayed on these pages in the brilliancy of a narrative enlivened by a profusion of anecdotes told with all the *verve* of an incomparable *raconteur*. Amid such a wealth of materials, the Reviewer's task is limited to a selection of a few of the more striking facts, leaving the reader to restore, from imagination, the full contour of the skeleton thus outlined.

Born at Angers on May 7, 1811, of an ancient but impoverished family, Alfred de Falloux was an eye-witness of that series of secondary revolutions which have made France the by-word of modern Europe, while his early associations were coloured by memories of that earlier and greater cataclysm which may be said to have permanently shaken the social equilibrium of the universe. His paternal grandmother was one of its actual victims, for she expiated with her life the honour of having given hospitality to General La Rochejaquelin during the occupation of Angers by the army of La Vendée. She died, not on the scaffold, but a prisoner in the Castle of Montreuil-Bellay, of typhoid fever, caused or aggravated by inanition, exclaiming with her last breath, that she felt a cup of broth would restore her to life. Her son, our author's father, an *émigré* at fourteen, returned, under the Consulate, to find only a fragment of the family estate recoverable.

An inheritance of similar traditions was transmitted to the

young de Falloux by his mother, *née Mademoiselle de Soucy*. Her father, in command at Cherbourg, looked on then as a possible refuge for the royal family, sacrificed life to loyalty by remaining at his post when he could have fled in safety, thus justifying the confidence placed in him by the hapless king, who said to him, "Soucy, I count on you!" Madame de Soucy, again, this devoted nobleman's wife, had been *sous-gouvernante* to the children of France, and remained in charge of the Dauphin and Madame Royale during their captivity in the Temple. It was a strange revolution in the dizzy whirligig of French politics that made the heir of such traditions, the representative of such a past, not only an active member of the democratic Constituent Assembly, but a Minister in the first Cabinet of restored Bonapartism.

M. de Falloux's childish recollections travel back to a time when western France was in great measure covered by a shaggy mantle of forest, while an ox-waggon supplied the only means of locomotion. Gilded armchairs, indeed, stood in the straw beneath the tilted roof to accommodate the more distinguished travellers, looking, with their crimson velvet covered cushions, a somewhat incongruous adjunct to the rustic vehicle.

The Lycée of Angers, where he carried off nearly all the prizes, was the first school frequented by our author and his brother, until a considerable inheritance, left to his father in 1822, enabled the family to remove to Paris. This timely increase of fortune came from the hoards of a miserly relative, M. de la Crossonière, whose economies, it must be said, were sometimes of a costly description. His plan, for instance, for saving hotel bills, by purchasing houses at the various halting-places between Angers and Paris, and keeping a servant permanently in each, involved an outlay of 100,000 francs; but as this sum was paid by his agent out of the funds of the estate which had never passed through his own pocket, it was completely disregarded by the parsimonious prodigal.

The dull and decorous Paris of the Restoration had very little in common with the maenad of the Revolution; but the Court was enlivened for a time by the visit of the King and Queen of Naples, parents of the Duchesse de Berry, on their way to Spain, whither they were conducting their daughter Christina to share the throne of Ferdinand VII. The dynasties of these royal hosts and guests have alike been swept away, but an echo of their festivities still survives in the sparkling melodies of Auber's opera, "La Muette de Portici," brought out to compliment the Neapolitan Sovereigns with songs and scenery borrowed from their own capital.

M. de Châteaubriand was then the chief figure in Parisian society, as he was the principal leader of French thought. His

salon was enlivened by the grace and wit of Madame de Châteaubriand, who, despite her delicate health, supplied the piquant personal element of the conversation. She used to say of her husband : "M. de Châteaubriand is so stupid that if I were not there he would never speak ill of anybody."

To an earlier epoch of the Restoration belongs the anecdote of Count Bozon de Perigord, brother of the Duc de Talleyrand, who, being deaf and asthmatic, when asked by Louis XVIII.: *Bozon, comment va votre femme?* thought it was his cough that was inquired after, and replied, to the great amusement of the assembled courtiers: *Ah, Sire, elle m'a bien tourmenté cette nuit.*

One of the most vivid impressions of Alfred de Falloux's early days in Paris was that made on him by the acting of Talma, then near the close of his career. In the ardour of his childish enthusiasm, he even made a surreptitious sally from home to pay a visit to the actor, but when in his presence could only express his feelings in a passion of tears. The spontaneity of his juvenile homage touched the great tragedian, who offered him free admittance to all his performances, saying he had never received a tribute which flattered him more. The boy declined the tickets on the ground of having ample means of paying for his place, but came away well satisfied with the result of his adventure. It was revealed to his mother a few nights later when leaving the theatre, by a chance meeting with the actor, whose friendly exclamation, "Well, my little friend, were you pleased to-night?" as he passed his young admirer, betrayed the secret of their acquaintance.

A special aptitude for classical and literary studies gained young de Falloux a distinguished place among his fellow-learners, and he even declares his facility to have been a snare to him in enabling him to learn without any real discipline of thought. But the mental gifts his modesty thus tries to minimize seemed very brilliant to others, and he was already regarded as a young man of exceptional promise when he started in 1834 to make the tour of the principal capitals of Europe.

His first visit was one of homage to exiled royalty in the person of Charles X., dethroned by the Revolution of July (1830) and then occupying with his family the vast and dreary castle of Hradchin, near Prague, placed at his disposal by the House of Hapsburg. The young hope of the Legitimist party, then styled the Duc de Bordeaux, afterwards fondly dreamed of by them as Henri V., was but fourteen, and had those graces of manner and appearance, so doubly winning in one born to great station. The royal family were then much divided on the subject of his education, his grandfather's desire to confide it mainly to the hands of the Jesuits being opposed by his other relations, who wished for

greater emancipation for the young heir, under the charge of a secular governor of eminence and capacity. Charles X. proved obstinate, and Henri V. grew up to wreck the hopes of his party, though by faults of character which can hardly be charged to his early training, since they were rather the growth of his later years.

At Vienna, the next stage on M. de Falloux's journey, a disagreeable surprise awaited him in the discovery of the lack of enthusiasm among foreign crowned heads for the Legitimist Monarchy of France. The assumption of precedence over them by Louis XVIII. on his restoration, had permanently alienated their sympathies; and the most enduring memory brought away from Paris by the allied Sovereigns, was that of the French monarch passing to his own dinner-table in front of all the royal guests whose bayonets had reinstated him.

From Vienna the young traveller proceeded to Rome, where he was received with special cordiality by Gregory XVI. The benign Pontiff even desired him to introduce into his presence his Vendéan servants, the bearers of his vast assortment of beads and chaplets, that they too might share his benediction. Cardinal Mezzofanti, of whom Lord Byron said, that "he had missed his vocation, and should have been cicerone to the Tower of Babel," was then librarian of the Vatican, and of him, as of all those with whom he came in contact, M. de Falloux has some characteristic traits to record.

A strange and apparently well-authenticated instance of a supernatural apparition was narrated to him in Rome by a Polish lady, *née* Princess Lubomirska, whose own ancestor, nicknamed "the Solomon of Poland," was the person concerned. He was a man of great learning but no religion, and was occupied on a laborious work in defence of unbelief, when, walking one day in his demesne, he met an old woman engaged in loading an ass with sticks. He entered into conversation with her, and she lamented her poverty which prevented her from having Masses said for her husband, recently dead, to which he replied by flinging her a handful of gold and bidding her have as many as she liked. The same evening, while at his impious task as usual, he was startled by seeing motionless in his study the figure of a peasant, who made no reply to his angry demands for explanation, and of whose presence the servants could give no account. On the following day, at the same hour, the incident was repeated; but the visitor on the second occasion, said, in answer to a question as to his motive: "I am the husband of the widow you assisted two days ago, and have received God's permission to repay the benefit by these words—'the soul is immortal.'"

Prince Lubomirski's conversion was instantaneous, and, summoning his family, he, in their presence, tore his manuscript into

fragments—still preserved by his descendants. The priest who pronounced his funeral oration from the pulpit of Warsaw, heard the story from his own lips, and it is recorded in the archives of the family.

A singular and romantic friendship was formed by M. de Falloux, during his stay in London in 1835, with M. de Persigny, even then a confident, and, as the world would have said, infatuated believer in the destiny of Louis Napoleon. A sudden summons to join the latter in Switzerland found him short of funds to pay his hotel bill, and he appealed to M. de Falloux, as a compatriot, to assist him in his temporary embarrassment. The latter made no difficulty about doing so, and the Bonapartist adventurer, after vainly trying to win him as an adherent to his own party, left him with the following remarkable prophecy: “I respect your sincerity, but I also know your patriotism. Prince Napoleon will reign, and you will form part of his first Ministry.”

In despite of the prophet’s accent of conviction [continues the narrator] I received the prediction with a peal of laughter, and replied in a jesting tone: “Promise me then that you will give me my first Portfolio.”—“Very well, I promise.” But the lamentable part of the story was that the destiny of France should have been so troubled and compromised, that two young men of five-and-twenty, laying such a wager, should have ended by each being taken at his word. On entering the Ministry in 1848, I found there, left by M. de Persigny, the Portfolio he had announced to me in 1835; I have preserved it in my retirement, and never cast my eyes on it without saying, in sadness, “Unhappy, thrice unhappy, the country where such an adventure does not remain in the region of romance.”

The fulfilment of the prediction was all the more remarkable, as M. de Falloux’s entry into the Ministry of Louis Napoleon, despite the gift from M. de Persigny of the actual symbol of office, was brought about quite irrespectively of his influence, as a result rather of the general course of events than of any individual will. Before this unexpected consummation was reached, the Legitimist noble had it in his power to give many proofs of friendship to the adherent of Bonapartism, whose fortunes were meantime at a very low ebb. Among his acts of kindness was the offer to visit him when in prison after the landing at Boulogne in 1840, received by M. de Persigny with enthusiastic gratitude. “My own family,” he exclaimed to M. Berryer, the intermediary in opening communications, “repudiate me, and send me nothing but reproaches, and were it not for M. de Falloux, I should not have a single friendly hand to clasp in mine.”

Some years later, when long captivity and study had begun to tell upon the eyesight of his friend, M. de Falloux’s intervention

secured his removal to a hospital for treatment, and would have effected his release, had he consented to petition the Ministers in the prescribed form. "Remember well what I say," were his parting words on this occasion, "in a year we shall be in their places," and this second prophecy, uttered in 1847, was again literally fulfilled.

M. de Falloux's active participation in politics during the revolutionary period was due to the general action of the Catholic body, who, by ceasing to identify themselves with any particular party, sought to reassert their influence in the councils of the State. The wave of Liberal opinion, which at that time invaded the highest ecclesiastical circles, derived its impulse from the idea of reconciling modern democracy to the Church, the early dream of Pio Nono, of whom, when Bishop of Imola, Gregory XVI. said, "In casa Mastai anche il gatto è liberale." (In the Mastai household, the very cat is a Liberal.) The Republic once established, was therefore loyally accepted by the Catholic Conservative party in France, and M. de Falloux took his seat among that brilliant phalanx of deputies of the Right, of whom M. de Montalembert was the leading spirit, and Père Lacordaire, in the black and white robe of St. Dominic, the most striking figure.

The Monarchy of July, founded upon chaos, had left nothing but chaos behind. The creation of one street *émeute*, the victim of another, it was swept from power by an outbreak, which, without the justification of a single social or political grievance, has been styled "an effect without a cause." M. de Falloux sees in it the disintegrating effect of the parliamentary rivalry between Thiers and Guizot, who, each bent on overthrowing his rival, were both in reality engaged in undermining the throne. In the dissolution of all social organization that followed, the reconstruction of the political edifice from its foundations proved a task too herculean for an Assembly in which the principle of cohesion among parties was wanting. Its redundancy of oratorical power was as conspicuous as its deficiency in administrative ability, and Lamartine, who first guided its counsels, is described by M. de Falloux, in an inversion of his own epithet, as "a poet who had strayed into politics," instead of "a politician who had strayed into poetry." The slave of his own eloquence, he exhibited in some of his rapid mental gyrations that plasticity of mind which enables the orator to advocate the most opposite views with the same apparent fervour and conviction. Thus, on one occasion, having urged on his colleagues in private conference the adoption of the red flag, he made, on being overruled by them, a brilliant oration against the measure he had, shortly before, as strenuously recommended. Well may M. de Falloux exclaim, in recounting the incident :—

To have the power of being able to speak without thought, or even contrary to thought, to be able to improvise, not only language but opinions, abandoning oneself in the same instant to the most opposite convictions, without the audience being able to detect in voice, accent, or gesture, a trace of effort, a shadow of hesitation—what a fatal gift! Fatal to its possessor, who is dazzled by it himself, still more fatal to the nation he fascinates and enslaves!

The stages of disorder by which all political power was transferred from the Assembly to the mob of Paris in a series of organized *émeutes*, shattered the basis of national prosperity and shook public credit to its foundations. The vote of December 10, 1848, by which Louis Napoleon was elected to the Presidency of the Republic, was rather a cry of despair from a society on the verge of dissolution, than an expression of revived Bonapartist enthusiasm.

"A bad government," says a Mexican adage, which sums up the teaching of dearly-bought experience, "is better than a good revolution," and France gave practical effect to the same sentiment when she confided her destinies to an untried adventurer, with nothing to recommend him but the fatal fascination of a name. The Catholic and Legitimist party had given the President a large measure of support, and in the earlier and tentative stages of his policy he was anxious to secure their continued adhesion. Hence, in the formation of his first Ministry under M. Odilon Barrot, the office of Minister of Worship and Education was offered to M. de Falloux, who, under great pressure from his political friends in general and from the Abbé Dupanloup in particular, finally consented to accept it. His principal motive in doing so was fear lest the President's irritation, should he persist in his first refusal, stigmatized by him as tantamount to a declaration of war by the whole Clerical party, should vent itself in reprisals disastrous to the cause of religion, especially on two vital issues then at stake. The first of these was liberty of religious education in France, and for this, the law of 1850, prepared and elaborated by M. de Falloux, though passed after he had retired from the Ministry, was intended to provide. Although the subject of fierce attack in the columns of the *Univers*, it restored to the religious orders the care of the Catholic youth, and was doubtless the best solution possible under existing circumstances.

Of greater importance to the general condition of the Church, was the Roman Question, then raised by the triumph of the revolutionary party and expulsion of the Pope from his dominions. The French intervention on his behalf was mainly due to the presence of M. de Falloux in the Cabinet, and to his unceasing recommendations to the President to accept the task as an alterna-

tive to seeing it undertaken by Austria. The despatch of an expeditionary force to Civita Vecchia was accordingly resolved on, with the result of committing French honour to the siege and occupation of Rome.

The surprises of character which Louis Napoleon had in store for the world at large, were first experienced by his Ministers, who had not been a week in office ere making the discovery that his apathetic languor of manner veiled a despotic tenacity of will. A peremptory and almost insulting letter to the Minister of the Interior, demanding, in a tone of autocratic arrogance, the surrender of certain documents, produced a Cabinet crisis, and despite its retraction under the united pressure of the Ministry, left in their minds a sense of uneasy distrust.

We held ourselves [says our author] as forewarned, that the words of the taciturn are not always well-pondered in proportion to their paucity, and that the time spent without speaking is not necessarily passed in reflection. We knew thenceforward that the chief of the State might pass suddenly from apparent somnolence to violent action, and that we might, without transition, be shaken out of calm by a rude shock, perhaps even by an abrupt catastrophe.

With M. de Falloux, the personal relations of the Prince President were most harmonious, and the latter showed himself on all occasions full of courteous consideration for the feelings of his Royalist adherent. On entering the Council Chamber, he would address him with the latest news as to the health of the Comte de Chambord, and when he dined with him, expressed special gratification at the selection of the company from among the most prominent members of the Legitimist party. Nor did he resent the exclusion, on these occasions, of his cousin, Prince Jérôme Napoleon, although the latter was himself so mortified at the slight, that on finding himself seated next M. de Falloux at another person's table, he could not refrain from venting his feelings in the reproachful remark, "You see there are houses where it is thought possible to ask me to dinner."

The importunities of his relations were at this time a constant thorn in the President's side, and when taunted by the elder Jérôme with having nothing of the Emperor about him, he was said to have answered with the stinging retort, "You mistake, uncle, I have his family." This claimant was pensioned off with the governorship of the Invalides, but his son was not so easily provided for. Sent as ambassador to Madrid, he had no sooner crossed the frontier than he began to intrigue against the Spanish Government, openly proclaiming the necessity of expelling the House of Bourbon from every country where it was still in power. The Queen and her Ministers naturally demanded the recall of

this diplomatic firebrand, and M. Drouyn de Lhuys, at a meeting of the Council, sought with some circumlocution to bring so delicate a matter to the notice of the Prince President. The latter, however, cut short his hesitation, and saying that he knew his cousin thoroughly, and that he was "a monster," desired him to come to the point at once. The Foreign Minister, thus encouraged, went on to detail the doings of the erratic Prince, narrating how on his way through Bordeaux he had visited the cells of the political malefactors, and accompanied his promises to them of speedy liberation with unmeasured diatribes against the President. The latter undertook to render him harmless for the future, by sending an aide-de-camp to intercept him at Tours, with peremptory orders that he should leave France without passing through Paris.

The facile amiability of temperament which, combined with laxity of principle, was destined to bring so many disasters on France, is illustrated by an anecdote of Louis Napoleon's youth, which, though told by others in different ways, is recounted by M. de Falloux as he had it from his own lips. It was during his early days in Switzerland that, in his own words, he actually "stole in order to give away," abstracting a case of mathematical instruments from Dr. Conneau's room to bestow them on a necessitous young friend, crippled in his military studies for want of these essential requisites. The theft being discovered after the lapse of months, and laid to the charge of a servant, the real culprit was driven to confess, when his mother compensated Dr. Conneau for his loss, the young student being left in ignorance of the source of his acquisition.

The tortuous character of Louis Napoleon's mind influenced his dealings with his Ministers, and M. de Falloux's retirement, though necessitated by failure of health, did not take place before some straining of his relations with his chief had been occasioned by the duplicity and bad faith of the latter. They parted coldly, and the President, whose fears or necessities were then impelling him to lean principally on the Left, evaded a personal explanation by deferring it to a promised visit which he never paid.

Brief as was M. de Falloux's tenure of office, it yet left its mark on European history in the occupation of Rome, mainly decided on under his influence. Neither was it without a lasting effect on French legislation, since the educational law of 1850 was prepared under his inspiration, although not actually passed until after his retirement. And in another direction it was rendered at least equally memorable, by the appointment of Mgr. Dupanloup to the See of Orleans, for so many years afterwards made illustrious by his commanding character and talents.

Ininvalided for life at eight-and-thirty, by neuralgic sufferings

brought on by overwork, M. de Falloux had, nevertheless, too much energy of character to subside into total inactivity. He never, indeed, filled any public office again, but the second volume of his *Memoirs* shows him a stirring member of the Royalist party, and is a valuable record of its inner history during nearly a quarter of a century. In its pages we can trace the gradual closing in of the charmed circle drawn round the Comte de Chambord by a *côterie* of misguided enthusiasts, who eventually succeeded in isolating him from all influences but their own. To these political idealists the *ancien régime* was not yet a thing of the past, and the hands of the clock of time had stopped at the memorable hour when the people's representatives assembled in the racket-court and changed the destinies of man. How little the *de jure* monarch appreciated contemporary realities, even when he still showed some degree of pliancy to remonstrance and advice, is evidenced by an interesting conversation with M. de Falloux, who had gone to pay his homage to the exiled Prince, during a visit of the latter to Venice in the spring of 1851.

The Comte de Chambord [writes his faithful adherent] was then in the plenitude of his personal prestige. The head had all its nobility, the glance all its transparency, the voice all its resonance. His gait, by its ease and buoyancy, counteracted the defect left behind by a cruel accident.

The Comtesse de Chambord was tall, and of striking aspect. Her countenance expressed benevolence, but melancholy as well. It seemed almost as though she were under the influence of sombre presentiments, and felt oppressed by a sense of guilt towards the French in not having fortified the throne by its natural props.

The Dauphiness, daughter and heiress of Louis XVI., is described as "pathos personified." Devoted to her nephew, and with all her interests concentrated in his future, her influence, with all its benumbing associations, must nevertheless be counted among the pernicious ones which so fatally compromised his cause.

The royal circle was completed by the presence of the Duchesse de Berry, occupying an adjacent palace on the Grand Canal. Her husband, Count Lucchesi, her marriage with whom was one of the many suicidal blows dealt French royalty by royal hands, performed the functions of major-domo in her establishment, and never appeared to assume any save his official position. The Duchess, whose views on politics were very moderate, had little or no influence with her son.

The Comte de Chambord, ever royally gracious in manner, showed much solicitude for M. de Falloux's health, requesting him to follow any regimen prescribed for him when dining at his table, and pressing him in the evening to take a seat, when the other guests were standing. His political interviews with the

Prince took place in the morning, and their conversation on the first of these occasions is recorded as follows :—

" You cannot, Monseigneur " [began the narrator] " have a more devoted friend than the Comte de Quatrebarbes ; but his lofty spirit attaches him sometimes to illusions. He always looks to the Vendée of the past, and cannot make up his mind to see the Vendée of to-day."

" Oh, I know that well," replied the Prince, very frankly and gaily. " Quatrebarbes is a true chevalier, but he regulates politics by prophecies."

" That is indeed his tendency, Monseigneur ; but, setting that aside, he is a very efficient agent, and a most expert member of the general council."

From the Comte de Quatrebarbes to the Duc des Cars was but a step, and the transition was quickly made.

" Do not be under any apprehension in that quarter, either," said the Comte de Chambord immediately ; " the Duc des Cars also encourages delusions which I do not share. He flatters himself that he could raise two hundred thousand men at a moment's notice ; but I know perfectly well that he could scarcely raise half that number."

My face betrayed my surprise at these words, and my momentary silence allowed the Prince to perceive how much it cost me to contradict or disappoint him. I then replied, slowly but firmly :

" The Duc des Cars has no more one hundred than two hundred thousand men at his command, and it is well that Monseigneur should be absolutely clear on this point. The Duc des Cars may count four or five thousand men scattered through the West and South, willing to enrol themselves or be enrolled ; some ready to sacrifice their lives in the royal cause, some who will take time to reflect on it, and finally, a certain number of others much more effectually enrolled in the police."

" You exaggerate in your turn," replied the Prince, but he did not break off the conversation, and it was agreed that on the following morning we should discuss the question thoroughly.

In the renewed dialogue, M. de Falloux put strongly before the Prince the necessity of choosing definitively between the opposite courses of an appeal to arms and a peaceable agitation working on public opinion within the limits of the existing constitution, pointing out to him that a policy halting between these two methods was inadmissible, as they were absolutely incompatible and reciprocally destructive. His arguments triumphed for the time, and he returned to Paris, having gained the Prince's adhesion to M. Berryer's policy in the Chamber, and his consent to modify the exclusive character of his personal surrounding by an invitation to two among the chiefs of the more moderate section of his party to make a prolonged sojourn at Frohsdorf.

The Royalists in France had at this time a regular and recognized organization, headed by a central Committee of about twelve prominent politicians, including M. de Falloux, with weekly

meetings for the despatch of business. But the action of this body was neutralized by the conflict of ideas among its members, and its energies were wasted in the friction of opposing views. Its selection, based on the principle of representation of all sections of the party, gave umbrage to the ultra Legitimists, who dreaded nothing so much as seeing their personal influence with the Prince undermined by their more moderate colleagues. Their policy bore fruit in the dissolution of the Committee, and the substitution for it of a Bureau de Renseignements in Paris, with branches through the departments, composed of members selected from the extreme section of the party alone.

The nation, meantime, had run through the recurring phases of the revolutionary cycle ; the *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, 1851, with its subsequent plebiscitary sanction, had substituted the Empire for the Republic, and despotism was once more evolved from anarchy. At about the same date took place that further change in the relations of the Comte de Chambord to his party, which hurried on the disintegration of the latter. The Prince, increasingly impatient of counsel or contradiction, began to claim from his followers the blind obedience required of the subjects of an absolute monarch, enjoining on them total abstention from local or national polities under the new *régime*. The condemnation of the oath of allegiance required for admission to every representative body, from the Municipal Councils to the Corps Législatif, involved the forfeiture of all rights of citizenship, and the unwillingness of a large section of the Royalist party to acquiesce in this self-imposed ordinance of proscription created a profound schism in its ranks, disastrous not only to its own fortunes, but to the whole future of society in France. The voluntary ostracism of the hereditary aristocracy, attached by tradition and association to the cause of religion, involved its abdication of all social influence in favour of a mushroom nobility, recruited from among the parasites of the Second Empire, and, under their sway, Paris became the scene of that orgie of frivolity, luxury, and vice which has made it the moral plague-spot of the universe.

A confidential interview with M. de Persigny in 1852, enables M. de Falloux to give his readers a version of the political harlequinade then being enacted from the lips of one of the principal performers. The former Bonapartist conspirator, now Minister of the Interior, did not forget the friend of his adversity, and wrote making an appointment with him at breakfast in his own house. His host would naturally have abstained from the introduction of controversial topics, had he not himself invited a political discussion as follows :—

"I am ashamed to think that I am on the stage and you in the pit. But since it is the place you have chosen, tell me candidly what you think of us."

"I do not attach any great importance to this *lever de rideau*, I await the principal piece."

"Ah, of course, the Empire!" he replied. "Well, to you I will tell the simple truth. You do not then know what delays the Empire? It is the Emperor, and the Emperor alone. Ever since the 2nd of December, a vertigo of timidity has seized on him. He takes his ten years seriously, and without actually wishing to see them through, thinks it too soon to issue from their term, though all who surround him tell him the contrary. Morny and I, who are seldom unanimous, are perfectly agreed in this, and maintain that the Empire is the natural outcome of the plébiscite, the elections, and the wishes of France. We have not convinced him yet, but we do not allow ourselves to be discouraged. I made him candidate for the Presidency against his will, I made him hasten the *coup d'état* against his will, I shall make him Emperor against his will. He will shortly make a tour through France, and I will have him stunned with such shouts of 'Vive l'Empereur!' that he will have to yield and allow himself to have forced upon him what he ardently desires, without daring to grasp it. But in order to do this, I must remain six months longer Minister of the Interior."

"Six months longer!" exclaimed I. "What could undermine your credit with a Prince whom you have served with such fidelity?"

"Ah! two things: my character and that of the Prince. I am violent and incapable of subservience, the Prince is gentle, but greedy of adulation and personal domination. I go in to him with the firmest resolutions of repressing myself and flattering his weakness, which I know from old times, but at the end of a few minutes lose my self-control, fly in his face, and five times out of six, leave the Council, having quarrelled with everybody there, to the great delight of Morny. I think myself more of a statesman than Morny, but he is more subtle than I."

M. de Persigny's attachment was evidently more to the Imperial tradition than to the person of Louis Napoleon, for he went on to say:—

"You may take this as probable, and I would even say certain, the President will retain me in order to construct the Empire, and I shall do so. He will then dismiss me, and others will work him out, to their own profit. However, it matters little, provided he continue faithful to the Napoleonic traditions in domestic policy. The genius of the great Emperor was so vast and mighty that it will still bear two or three successors on its wings before letting them drop."

I objected to him several of the weak points of the President's judgment.

"Oh, yes," said he, "the Prince has these failings and many others

better known to me than to you, but he has the name and prestige of Napoleon. Be assured that the Empire, when reconstructed, will have only two possibilities of ruin: war and the Imperial family. He must beware of touching the great sword which he cannot wield, and which would infallibly cut his fingers. He must make haste to marry and have children, so as to thrust aside his relations, who are viler than any one can conceive. Let me be only heard on these two points, and everything else will arrange itself, with or without me."

A few months later the Emperor went to Bordeaux and pronounced those words of talismanic effect: *l'empire c'est la paix.*

M. de Persigny triumphed and disappeared. M. de Falloux's next interview with his quondam friend was when the latter, shortly after the proclamation of the Empire, came to announce to him his approaching marriage to Mdlle. Ney, granddaughter of the Marshal, a girl of twenty, very piously brought up. He accompanied the announcement with a request for the prayers of the household, consisting of father, mother, and daughter, by way of a wedding-gift; but the latter was also sent, in the more material shape of a rosary for the use of the bride, specially blessed by the Holy Father and enclosed in a costly casket. The Emperor endowed the new *ménage* with the munificent donation of 500,000 francs—the only one, according to M. de Persigny, he had ever received from him. "I have never asked the President for anything, and I never will!" he exclaimed on a previous occasion when recounting how his persecution by place-hunters had gone to such a pitch that he had once put the expectant crowd in his ante-chamber to flight by appearing among them with a brace of loaded pistols and threatening to fire on them forthwith.

This singular being makes still another appearance on the pages of the Memoirs, in the character of a would-be penitent, who made M. de Falloux the confidant of his desire to resume the long-disused practices of religion, asking him to recommend a confessor capable of inspiring such personal sympathy as should smooth the difficulties of the step. The Abbé le Rebours fulfilled all the requisite conditions, and M. de Persigny, introduced to him at a pre-arranged meeting at a friend's house, learned from him the hours when he would be at his disposal for the momentous interview. An unfortunate fatality, however, intervened to prevent it. M. de Persigny, having vainly called on three successive days, and found the Abbé absent on other imperative business, relinquished his purpose altogether, while M. de Falloux, who had left Paris after thus bringing him to the door of the Church, only learned, some months later, the mischance which had prevented him from actually entering it. His good

intentions, frustrated at the time, bore fruit only on his death-bed, when the ministrations of a Jesuit father gave peace to the last moments of a tumultuous life.

A lengthy and important correspondence between M. de Falloux and the Comte de Chambord, throws much new light on the relations of the latter to his followers, and shows his tenacity in enforcing on them, in the teeth of their respectful but strenuous remonstrances, his own views as to the duty of political effacement incumbent on them. Meantime the divisions in their ranks became wider and deeper with the consolidation of the Empire, to which a portion of the Catholic party, represented by the influential journal, *l'Univers*, had now given its unqualified adhesion. *Le Correspondant*, on the other hand, was adopted as the organ of the opposite section of their co-religionists, and the genius of Montalembert and Lacordaire, the brilliancy of M. de Falloux, and the political sagacity of Augustin Cochin and M. de Broglie, were enlisted to illuminate its pages. Bourg d'Iré, where M. de Falloux had built himself a beautiful modern residence on the site of his ancestral château, was often a rendezvous of the contributors to the journal, with a view to the discussion and arrangement of its affairs, and here on one occasion the circle of brilliant Frenchmen just named was enlarged by the presence of a distinguished Irishman, Mr. Monsell, now Lord Emly, at that time Secretary of State for the War Department. The arrival of the newly-published number of the *Correspondant* was hailed one evening with special eagerness, for it contained a critique by Père Lacordaire, on M. Albert de Broglie's important work, "L'Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Empire Romain au IV. Siècle."

We were all eager [says M. de Falloux] to hear it, and we begged M. de Montalembert, who read with incomparable spirit and nature, to give us the triple pleasure of enjoying such beautiful diction so admirably delivered, in the presence of the writer it so closely concerned. There we were, then, all eager and thrilled with genuine interest, gathered round a reader no less thrilled than we. At the end of a few pages Mr. Monsell's head droops in sleep, another page, and he is snoring; M. de Montalembert breaks off and exclaims, "Monsell! it is all very well for you to go to sleep, but it is too bad to snore!" Mr. Monsell wakes up with a start, and with a phlegm rather British than Irish, replies, "Why, my dear fellow, this is the hour of Parliament!" The phrase lingered in our minds together with a most affectionate memory of Mr. Monsell, and whenever any of us goes to sleep during reading, we say forgivingly, "This is the hour of Parliament!"

No part of M. de Falloux's reminiscences is more interesting than that which deals with the events succeeding the catastrophe of 1871, for never before had the imminence of a monarchical

restoration been so clearly made apparent, and the greatness of the opportunity, twice lost by the Comte de Chambord, so strongly put before the world.

It was when the fratricidal horrors of the Commune, supervening on the calamity of a foreign invasion, had united all the friends of order in France in the bond of a common alarm, that the fusion of the Legitimist and Orleanist parties was called for as the first step towards the recall of the dynasty. The Comte de Chambord, himself childless, showed a willingness to recognize the Comte de Paris as his natural heir, and the preliminary negotiations, both for a family reconciliation and political coalition on the above basis, seemed to present no difficulty. The personal participation of our author in their further stages dated from his arrival in Paris at the end of June, 1871. The visit of the Comte de Paris and Due de Chartres occurred at the same time, and on Saturday, July 1, the two Princes dined with M. Thiers, and received the homage of their supporters previous to starting, on the following Monday, for Belgium, to pay their respects to the head of their house. M. de Falloux, pressed to be of the party to meet them, declined, on the ground of not wishing to appear among the worshippers of the rising sun, but requested his friends to give him the earliest report of the events of the evening.

Nothing, they declared, when they reappeared next morning, could have been more triumphantly successful. "It was the Monarchy" (in the words of one of them) "receiving under the roof of the Republic. The Princes" (he went on to say) "stood in the centre of the drawing-room, and people were presented to them by M. Thiers, who no longer seemed master of the house. Nothing was talked of during the dinner and evening but the reconciliation of the royal family. The Princes announced publicly their departure for Bruges, where the Comte de Chambord is now residing, and every one addressed them with the warmest congratulations."

"And what tone did M. Thiers adopt in speaking of it?" I asked, after having gloated over the most minute details as to the bearing of the Princes.

"Excellent, excellent!" replied M. de Meaux. "M. Thiers appeared delighted at the success of the Princes, and spoke in the best terms of the chief of the House of France. When one of us remarked to him, 'Your dinner wants only the presence of the Comte de Chambord,' he replied with animation, 'The Comte de Chambord would have been welcome, and I do not despair of that honour.'"

But the exultation in Monarchist circles was premature. On Monday, July 3, there was circulated among them a short and coldly worded note in which the Comte de Chambord, writing in the third person, informed his cousin of his presence in France for

a few days, and declined to receive his visit until he should have more clearly defined his own political attitude.

The step thus indicated was the fatal one of the adoption of the White Flag, which lost the crown of France to the House of Bourbon probably for ever. In vain did the adherents of the titular monarch, who rightly interpreted his ominous hint of coming action, try by the most passionate appeals to avert or even delay his decision; in vain did an influential deputation, their political weight reinforced by the authoritative eloquence of the Bishop of Orleans, hasten to Chambord, to try the effect on his mind of their personal representations. They returned to Paris in a mood of despair, expressed in the exclamation of one of their number, who said—"In twenty-four hours we have lost the fruit of twenty years of prudence."

On July 6, appeared the document known as the Chambord manifesto, because dated thence, which sealed the doom of French royalty by its negation of the national wishes. The white flag was declared indissolubly associated with the fate of the elder dynasty, which lay thenceforward to all intents and purposes buried beneath its folds. So strong and deep was the irritation caused by this pronouncement, that the members of his own party lost no time in seeking to dissociate themselves from the action of their chief. A counter-manifesto was immediately issued, in which the signatories, eighty members of the Right, declared that, while the Comte de Chambord's personal inspirations belonged to himself alone, and commanded respect from their sincerity, those attached to the principle of the hereditary and representative monarchy declined to separate themselves from the flag adopted by France, rendered illustrious by the courage of her soldiers, and become, in opposition to the sanguinary standard of anarchy, the emblem of social order.

The project of a Restoration thus rendered abortive, was once more revived, when a fresh crisis in public affairs was brought about by the fall of M. Thiers on May 24, 1873. The vote which drove him from office, a declaratory one, pronouncing Conservative interests insufficiently guaranteed by the composition of the existing Ministry, was an expression of discontent with his growing subservience to the Left, as well as of the profound distrust created by his avowal from the tribune on November 29, in the previous year, that he had, during the Commune, negotiated and treated with the most advanced representatives of the most violent and guilty faction.

The same sitting which received the resignation of M. Thiers, saw his successor elected by the unanimous vote of the majority, while the Left abstained *en bloc*, and a reluctant consent having been wrung from Marshal MacMahon to accept office as the sole

alternative to anarchy, he was forthwith proclaimed President of the Republic. Again did events seem ripe for a return to monarchical institutions, for which indeed, the elevation to supreme authority of the loyal soldier was generally regarded as only a cover. The reconciliation of the rival branches of the House of Bourbon, was, therefore, more than ever necessary, and the Comte de Paris, obeying no less a chivalrous impulse of personal devotion than the dictates of political expediency, hastened to Frohsdorf, where he was, on August 5, for the first time received by his august relative. The meeting, regarded merely as one of family reconciliation, was a most cordial one, but no agreement on matters of general policy resulted from it. The Comte de Chambord shielded himself against all approaches from this side behind his invariable formula, that ulterior questions could only be discussed after France had reaffirmed the monarchical principle and recalled its representative, forgetting that a Prince, in these latter days, is but the courtier of a nation. The younger Prince, however, came away from the interview with the impression that the Comte de Chambord, though somewhat obstinate in his adhesion to an imaginary standard of honour, regretted in his heart his last manifesto, and would gladly accept a compromise enabling him to retreat from an untenable position. The difficulty was to find some common basis of negotiation between the claimant to the throne, who would not stoop to purchase it by any previous concession, and the nation, who did not trust him sufficiently to restore him unconditionally.

Meantime, France, hoping for a solution of the temporary deadlock, was ready to acclaim the Monarchy. A large majority of the Assembly, invested by its constituent character with legal power to modify the Constitution, was unanimously in favour of a restoration, the Moderate Left, despairing of any other stable form of government, was content to acquiesce, and the Extreme Left, discredited and impotent, could do no more than enter a formal protest. The Executive was determined to carry out the decrees of the representatives of the nation, and the President Marshal answered for the army. Untainted by the ignominy of foreign intervention, unstained by the sanguinary blot of civil strife, never would a restoration have been accomplished under more favourable conditions. No one dreamed that such fair prospects would have been a second time blasted by a repetition of the same error that had been so fatal to them once before. The final word on the crucial question of the national flag had not indeed yet been spoken, but the future Sovereign encouraged his adherents by conciliatory, though, as it proved, delusive assurances, declaring that he was prepared with a satisfactory solution to be proposed at the proper time. As this was generally believed to be

nothing more than the modification of the tricolor by the emblazonment of the royal lilies on its field, little apprehension was entertained as to the result of the negotiations. The confidence of the royal exile's followers too was increased when it became known among them that he was making preparations in anticipation of his entry into Paris, and that the master of his equipages, Count Maxence de Damas, had been sent to inspect the Imperial stables at the Louvre, where he had offered criticisms and suggestions with an assumption of unquestioned authority.

The highest ecclesiastical influence had been brought to bear to allay any scruples of conscience that might have withheld the pious son of St. Louis from adopting the tarnished emblem of successful revolution, and the Papal Nuncio was despatched from Vienna to reassure him on this head. The Prince met him with a burst of royal magniloquence, declaring that while his Holiness, on propounding to him any dogma of religion, would find him the most docile of sons, his honour as a king was in his own keeping, and admitted of no dispensation. The Nuncio retired discomfited, and Pio Nono, on being informed of the result, exclaimed, in his racy idiom, *Si faccia friggere!* an Italian equivalent of the English slang phrase, "Let him fry in his own fat!"

To the solution of this question, in a form which, while sparing the self-love of the Prince, should give the nation a guarantee against future misconstruction, the deliberations of the Right were now directed. In a meeting in which our author took part, a document was drawn up which included, among various stipulations as to constitutional government, the following clause as to the flag, fondly expected to meet all the requirements of the case:—

"The tricolor flag is retained. It can only be modified by agreement between the King and the Assembly."

This ultimatum was conveyed to the Prince by M. Chesnelong, who returned in the full belief that it had been accepted by him. The letter, consequently, dated Salzburg, October 27, in which the Comte de Chambord, after months of evasion of the question, finally reverted to his original uncompromising attitude, came upon his followers like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. In this second manifesto, addressed to M. Chesnelong as the ambassador, he repudiates the idea that he could consent to become "the legitimate King of the Revolution," demands, with a rhetorical flourish, how Henri IV. (who showed himself pliant enough in the matter of religion) would have answered, if called on to renounce "the standard of Arques and Ivry," and finally asks why guarantees should be expected from him, when none were required from "the Bayard of modern times," as he grandiloquently styles Marshal MacMahon.

The effect of this publication [says M. de Falloux] was immediately disastrous. There was no difference of opinion amongst the Royalists, and the most ardent partisans of the Monarchy were the most earnest in their expressions of despair. On the following morning, at an early hour, all the Deputies of the Majority present in Paris hastened to the house of General Changarnier, President of the Commission of Nine (the body charged with the conduct of the negotiations), and in this numerous meeting, comprising all shades of the Right, not a doubt was expressed as to the impossibility of prosecuting the Monarchical enterprise. The feelings of all were expressed—first, in the tears which poured down the cheeks of General Changarnier, and next in the mournful exclamation of M. Chesnelong, in which personal protest was merged in patriotic affliction, “ I appeal from the King to God ! ”

The first alternative suggested, the offer of the Lieutenant-Generalship of the kingdom to the Prince de Joinville, proved impracticable ; the condition attached by him to his acceptance of the office, that it should be conferred on him by the Assembly and the Comte de Chambord, being tantamount to a refusal. The prolongation of MacMahon’s powers for a term of seven years seemed, then, the only possible solution, and on the meeting of the Assembly on November 7, 1873, this measure was immediately proposed and carried.

But a dramatic interest was given to the closing scene of this interlude of history by the presence for the last time of the chief actor in the streets of his hereditary capital. Blindfolded to the consequences of his acts by the evil counsellors to whom he had long ago surrendered his judgment, the ill-starred Prince, had, we are assured, no previous conception of the inevitable effect of his fatal letter.

His surprise [writes M. de Falloux] was so great, and his disappointment so intense, that he resolved immediately to leave Austria and come *incognito* to France, in order to combat in person the impressions he had so ill-advisedly created, and to struggle face to face against any provisional expedient other than the recognition of his right and the re-establishment of his throne. He betook himself mysteriously to Versailles, to the house of M. de Vanssay, one of the men who possessed his confidence, and through M. de Blacas, requested a confidential interview with Marshal MacMahon. The Marshal replied that if any danger threatened the Comte de Chambord, he was ready in person to go and defend the Prince, even at the risk of his life ; but that his duty to the Assembly and to his Ministry, rendered it impossible for him honourably to accept the secret rendezvous proposed. The interview consequently did not take place.

The Comte de Chambord saw only a few friends, to whom he appeared very anxious and almost irritable ; he did not go out, in order to avoid being recognized, but heard Mass every morning in a little chapel improvised in M. de Vanssay’s house, the officiating priest,

one of the Capuchin Fathers of Versailles, being deeply touched by the fervour in prayer and devoutly recollected attitude of the descendant of St. Louis.

So keen was the suspense and anxiety of the Comte de Chambord during the night sitting, which was to decide for or against the prolongation of the Marshal's powers, that it is said he repaired to the court of the palace, enveloped in a cloak, to await the result of the scrutiny, at the foot of the statue of Louis XIV. It is added that one or two of his confidants came and went every few minutes, to bring him reports of the speeches, incidents, fluctuations of the Assembly, and that when the final vote was irrevocably cast, and the Prince, so utterly misguided, and so utterly unfortunate, was informed that all, or almost all, the members of the Extreme Right had voted the Septennate, the bitterness of his despair was such that there broke from his heart the cry of anguish: "Great Heaven! is France not yet sufficiently punished?"

On the following morning he left Paris, to expiate in life-long exile the last error of a deeply erring race. Thus was a royal birthright a second time forfeited to folly, and the future of France, with that of her hereditary Sovereign, once again staked and lost. Nor can history even rank this *gran rifiuto* as a mistaken sacrifice of self-interest to principle; for if the head of the House of Bourbon held his personal honour pledged to conditions incompatible with the exigencies of the nation, he might at least, by a timely abdication, have waived his claims in favour of the next heir. He displayed, moreover, a reticence approaching to duplicity in the reservation of his final *non possumus* for a moment when he might have believed his followers too deeply committed to his candidature to be prepared with an alternative. Thus the last of the elder branch of Bourbon passes from the scene, self-obliterated in inglorious failure, to stand for ever pilloried in history as a royal *felo de se*, charged with the suicide of a dynasty.

M. de Falloux closes his record with the fall of the curtain on the last act of the Monarchist revival, but he lived to see these volumes printed twenty-two years later, and to recognize in the moral and political degradation of his country the realization of the worst fears with which he had laid down his pen. How much further the evolution of anarchy may proceed ere it reach its final term in some new phase of social or military tyranny the annalist of the future alone can tell; but those best acquainted with French political tendencies declare that the last chance of a Monarchical Restoration was lost with the once possible reign of Henri V., and that a deep-rooted feeling of national antipathy is expressed by the now sovereign populace in the frequently recurring cry of "Pas de Bourbons!"

E. M. CLERKE.

ART. III.—“BOROUGH ENGLISH.”

THE two great political parties which, by turns, take upon themselves to manage the affairs of our Empire, have each of them become pledged to alterations in those laws which regulate the succession to, and enjoyment of, property in land. It is probable that the change, when effected, will modify English life so very gradually that it will pass over, unrealized by the greater number of the land-owning class. Much of the land descends from generation to generation by will, and none, except a few wild theorists, at present advocate putting limitations to the absolute right of bequest. This right, or rather privilege—for abstract right, of course, there can be none—has been enjoyed by nearly every landowner for more than three hundred and forty years, and to many of us it has become so much a part of the nature of things that it requires a painful effort to comprehend the position occupied by our own forefathers in the Middle Ages, and a still greater stretch of the imagination to believe that our Continental neighbours can live happily under the land-laws which sprang up after the wars of the Revolution. Such land as is not dealt with by will is, in most cases, regulated by settlements. We believe that there are but few who advocate the abolition of settlements made in favour of living persons. The changes that are proposed will, therefore, affect only that relatively small portion of land with which deceased owners have neglected to deal. We are not in the secrets of either political camp; but it is a matter of public notoriety that it is intended that the real estates of intestates should pass in the same manner as personality now does—that is, be divided in equal shares among all the children. On political grounds this may or may not be expedient. As a question of abstract justice even, there is much to be said both against and in favour of change. Viewed, however, from the standpoint of the student of history, when it comes to pass, it will be a revolution as great as any that has ever taken place, without violence, in this country. It will not be a change of front, but of basis.

We do not wish to be understood to affirm that such a mode of succession was an unknown thing, either here or over sea, in those centuries when modern institutions were shaping themselves among the ruins which encumbered Europe when the heathen Roman Empire crashed down in ruin. Gavelkind, we are aware, was never restricted to Kent; and we know that there was male gavelkind, where the succession was among the sons, to

the exclusion of the daughters, and gavelkind of a more absolute character, where sisters shared equally with brothers. There is evidence, were it required, to prove that these forms of succession were widely spread on the Continent.

Here in England we know that the methods by which succession was regulated were very varied, each one was, there can be no doubt, based on traditional customs of remote antiquity. The military defence of the land, in the opinion of those who, to use a somewhat misleading term, feudalized our institutions, made it needful that there should be, as far as possible, but one rule; so it came to pass that the form of succession prevalent among the great tenants who held directly of the Crown was, as far as might be, forced upon all classes. Thus, under the Norman and early Angevin kings, primogeniture had all the vitality that the presumption of the law in its favour could give. Or, to speak more correctly of a time when the principles of law were forming themselves, it was on almost every occasion favoured by the Crown lawyers, and very strong evidence had to be forthcoming ere any other form of devolution of land could be tolerated. Military service was not the only reason for this marked preference for primogeniture. Lawyers, from the very nature of their studies and employments, delight in uniformity. A set of hard-and-fast rules, which will work on all occasions with the accuracy of unintelligent machinery, appealed strongly to officials who had been trained mainly by study of the Imperial legists. They were perplexed and irritated at every turn by the varying customs of Teutonic and Celtic origin, which were to those, who had no means of seeing them in the perspective of historical development, mere relics of barbarism. Scotland and the Orkneys have had to undergo similar conflicts. The tribal tenures of the Highlands, and the Norwegian customs of the men of Orkney, were at once hateful and unintelligible to men trained to administer law as it was understood in the Lowlands.

In Kent and some few other places gavelkind possessed a vitality that it was impossible to stamp out, though it has been nibbled at by Acts of Parliament and legal decisions so as to have become but a shadow of its former self. Borough English has also survived, protected, as we believe, for their own purposes, by the manorial lords in the earlier time until it had struck roots deep enough to be able to live through the centuries when England was feudal, and to preserve a shadowy, ghost-like existence down to our own day. As the first Act of Parliament that is passed, dealing with the succession to real estate, is sure to sweep away this archaic custom, it will not be unprofitable to consider what it is, and, if it be possible, to trace its origin.

What then is Borough English? It is the custom by which

lands descend to the youngest son of the family instead of to the eldest, according to the provision of the common law. The custom, however, varies in different places; in some it is confined to the sons only, if there be no son, it is shared equally among the daughters; * in others the youngest daughter inherits.† There are some manors in which, if there are no children, the youngest brother inherits; in others the estate goes according to the rules of common law. There are places in which the copyhold land is Borough English, while the freehold follows the rule of the common law. In others both freehold and copyhold have the Borough English custom.

No little learning has been misspent on the discussion of the meaning of the term. That which seems obvious is, in this case, undoubtedly true. It was the English as distinguished from the French tenure, of this there can be no doubt; for we find that in Nottingham, in the reign of Edward III., there were two distinct kinds of tenure, in different parts of the town, called respectively *Burgh-Employes* and *Burgh-Frauncoyes*.‡ This affix, *burgh* or *borough*, has misled some persons. Towns having a mayor and corporation have arisen before their eyes. Aldermen in furred gowns, mace-bearers, and whatever else belong to municipal dignity, have flashed on their imaginations. They have not called to mind that the primary meaning of *burgh*, at least in England, was a fortified place, either a stockaded enclosure or a building, and hence, by an easily understood transition, a manor-house. Thus *burgh* or *borough*, in the sense in which we have to deal with it, has no connection whatever with a corporate town. This is proved by more than one line of evidence. For our present purpose, the names of villages such as Flixborough, Coningsborough, Fledborough, Flamborough, and a hundred other small places scattered over a great part of England, which have never been boroughs in the common meaning of the word, either by charter or prescription, are fully sufficient.

We are beset by far greater difficulties when we endeavour to discover how, when, and where, the custom we know as Borough English arose. The name is of native growth, probably, indeed, arose after the Norman Conquest, but the thing which it connotes is so widely spread that we cannot look for its origin in our own island. Before, however, we make inquiry as to these matters, we must dismiss, with all the contempt at our command, the stupid and malignant fables concerning the "Mercheta Mulierum"

* Kirton-in-Lindsey.

† Many manors in Sussex. See Corner's "Custom of Borough English," pp. 18-29.

‡ Thomas Robinson, "Common Law of Kent," 3rd ed., p. 386. "Records of Nottingham," vol. i. p. 174.

which have been put forward to account for it. Dreamers and pedants have pressed this rubbish into the service, grave lawyers and historians, who ought to have known better, have dwelt upon it, and found therein an overwhelming proof of the savagery of the Middle Ages. Voltaire, and the obscene crew who followed him, naturally gloated over something which, if true, would have shown that society had been indescribably foul, and that the Church had neglected her divine mission.* It is difficult for even the most accomplished in the art of propagating slander to get falsehoods believed if there be not some little nucleus to which the various threads of falsehood can be attached. Such a point of vantage the calumniators found in the payments often made to the lords of manors on the marriage of women within their demesnes. The explanation is perfectly easy, and an entirely innocent one : the payment was made to the lord to recompense him for the loss of the woman's services. The children of bondmen had, in many cases, to work for their lords in harvest—to gather sticks, carry letters, and perform many other sorts of labour. When a woman married and became the head of a household she was often incapacitated from doing these services ; she frequently also married some one out of her own lord's franchise, and then her services became entirely lost to her old lord. Strange as it may appear to us, who live in a mental atmosphere so absolutely different, it did not seem to the men of the Middle Ages that such payments were unjust. We do not remember any English instance where they were complained of at the time ; they certainly continued to be paid as late as the reign of Henry VIII.,† and probably for some time longer. And this is absolutely all out of which a whole pandemonium of hideous fable has been evolved. Even a French philosopher, or an English law-writer, novelist, or playwright, ought to have known sufficient of the power of the Church over the most godless of the baronage, to have been quite sure that no such things could have had the force of law, or accredited custom, in any land within the limits of Catholic Christendom. Among the many evil things that have been said of them

* For an exposure of this vile calumny on our forefathers see Dr. Karl Schmidt's "Jus Primæ Noctis." Cf. Elton, "Origins of English History," pp. 87–404; Blackstone's "Commentaries," 15th edition, vol. ii. p. 83; Cosmo Innes, "Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities," p. 53.

† An entry from a court-roll of the manor of Scotter, of the year 1519, is worth quoting, as it shows what was the meaning of the word *merchet* when the feudal system, though weakened, was still alive. Scotter was a Lincolnshire manor belonging to the Abbey of Peterborough. This passage informs us that Alice Overye, "filia Willielmi Overy, nativi domini de Scotter," came to the Court "et petit licentiam se spontanie et voluntarie maritari, cui Dominus concessit licentiam per senescalum, et dat domino de marchato . . . 5."—"Archæologia," vol. xlvi. p. 373.

by their enemies no one ever charged St. Gregory VII., St. Thomas of Canterbury, or Pope Innocent III. with being cowards. It is beyond the limits of possibility, if organized wickedness of the atrocious kind these fable-mongers tell of had been going on before their eyes, that their denunciations would not have rung through the world.

The area over which the custom the Germans call *Jungsten-Recht*, and for which the word *ultimogeniture* has been proposed, once extended, is a very wide one. It has existed in almost every country of central and northern Europe, in Hungary and the Ural mountains, and in Asia as far as the borders of China and Arracan. Scotland, and that part of England that was once the Northumbrian kingdom, seem to possess no traces of such a custom. Whether it never existed there, or whether, as seems more probable, it was stamped out so early that no record of its existence has been preserved, we cannot know. It is useless to speculate where there is not a scrap of evidence to guide us.

Two solutions of the problem which Borough English presents are worthy of consideration. Is it a custom descended from some race that has perished or been absorbed among subsequent invaders, or is it a form of succession which has been evolved among the races which at present occupy Europe?

As to the habits and ways of life of that very ancient gentleman, palæolithic man, our anthropological friends will pardon us for saying we know nothing. Many flint chips, a few bones, and still fewer bits of carved ivory, are all that he has left; everything about him is involved in controversy. His age is so much a matter of doubt, that those who are the most urgent in clamouring for his immediate admission into the human family, are the first to tell us that to fix any number of years back as the time in which he lived is a patent absurdity. He is a completely dateless being, and, for the present investigation, may be treated as non-existent. There is not the slightest evidence that any of the present populations of Europe can count on him as an ancestor. We must begin with the dawn of history then. As the darkness clears we find nearly the whole of Europe north of the Alps occupied by Celtic peoples. Into this not very compact mass the Teutons forced themselves. They are thought to have come by the way of the Danube, but it is highly probable that there were several streams of immigration separated by pretty long intervals of time. When the clear daylight begins, we find the Teutons in large masses, and we know that they pressed forward in more or less profusion into every corner of Europe, except perhaps Finland and Northern Russia. It is quite certain, however, that the Celts were not the earliest inhabitants

of the lands they retained, or those from which they have been dispossessed ; an earlier wave of population had overspread the land, a race or races which gave way before the new-comers, and were either slaughtered or absorbed by the ruling population. Their grave-mounds, their axes and arrows of beautifully worked flint yet remain, and their bones have been found in sufficiently large quantities to justify specialists in assuming provisionally that these early folk were members of the Mongolian family. If this be so—and we see no reason for calling it in question—it has been imagined, with some show of plausibility, that Borough English may have been the Mongol tenure which has been preserved in those places where the old inhabitants were able permanently to hold their own and to establish village communities, which in time became, under the influence of feudal ideas, consolidated into manors. There is much that is specious and attractive in this idea, but so many objections occur that it must be declared false, or at least unproven. That customs like Borough English yet exist among the Mongols we know ; if they were confined to them, the argument would have much weight ; but as they are also found so widely scattered among Celtic and Teutonic peoples, we must conclude that from them or through them the custom has been handed down to us. It is highly improbable that this one remain of Tartar occupation should have survived at so many widely severed points, while every other trace of the people from whom it has been supposed to spring has passed away.

According to Mr. Elton, the custom of Borough English "was most prevalent in the south-eastern districts, in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, in a ring of manors encircling ancient London, and to a less extent in Essex and the East Anglian kingdom."* No part of England, not even Cambridge, Norfolk, and Lincolnshire, has been more thoroughly Teutonized. It is about the last part of the island in which we should expect to find the survivals of an ancient race. Place names should also lend their aid. If the manors where Borough English has been handed on are really settlements of pre-Celtic and pre-Teutonic folk, we should find in their names some remains of their language. The late Mr. Corner in his treatise "On the Custom of Borough English as existing in the County of Sussex," has given a list of the manors where this custom is followed : there are far more than a hundred of them. We have examined these names carefully. Interpretation of place-names is a difficult subject, which should in all cases be approached with modest reserve. The names of these manors present nothing abnormal ; we believe that by far the greater part of them are

* "Origins of English History," p. 188.

Teutonic, though there seems to be a slight Celtic admixture. Unless we had in each case the oldest known spelling before us it would not be safe to generalize ; we may say, however, that, with the reservation as to what a careful study of each name on its first occurrence in our early records might demonstrate, we see no ground for disbelieving that every single name was formed by people who spoke one of the two languages at present in use in the island. In the county of Lincoln there are seven manors where this succession has prevailed : Bennington (Long), Hibaldstow, Keadby, Kirton-in-Lindsey, Norton (Bishop), Thoresby, and Wathall. All these are evidently Teutonic ; in fact, they seem, though this may admit of doubt, to be every one of them memorials of the last wave of northern conquest. We are unable to dissect the foreign place-names where the *Jungsten-Recht* has prevailed, but we have reason to believe that if this work were undertaken, as it surely ought to be, similar results would be arrived at. One example counts for little ; but it may not be out of place to remark that this custom prevailed at Rettenberg in Westphalia.* If the Borough English manors were cases of survival marking the last stations of a conquered race, we should find them more commonly among hills and bogs than in the open plain. The open country in the neighbourhood of the spot where now stands London, is about the last place in which one would expect to find a conquered race making their last stand. It has been suggested that the Borough English manors show a tendency to cluster round the banks of rivers. Until some plodding antiquary is good enough to make a map showing where they are, it will not be easy to verify this. Should it turn out to be true, it is an additional reason for rejecting the Mongolian theory ; for all the invading settlers of this island must have come up the rivers, and then, for the most part, fertile shores would be the first lands seized by the new comers.

If this theory, which we believe we have demonstrated to be untenable, be rejected, the opposing one—namely, that this right of the youngest has been evolved by the races which now inhabit Europe—is, if we are to have any explanation at all, the only one at present in the field. It, of course, does not follow that because no other key is forthcoming, this one will open the lock. To have any chance of doing so it must be one that has not arisen from narrow or local causes. A custom which we find in England, Wales, Brittany, Hainault, and indeed half the provinces of that State we now call France, which extended itself over many parts of Friesland, and the lands that lie on the banks of the Rhine, that is known in Silesia, Wurtemberg, Bornholm, and the territories which once belonged to the old commonwealth of Lubeck,

* G. L. Maurer, "Geschichte der Fronhöfe," vol. iv. p. 348.

which we may even trace in the villages of Hungary,* and in southern Russia † must have its origin in some widespread feeling, some natural instinct, which had the force of law over large bodies of widely separated people.

That European social life formed itself not from the State but from the village community, is now admitted by all those who have given thought to our early history—records are the chief, but not the only, sources of our knowledge of the past. Within the last quarter of a century it has been proved, almost to demonstration, that the family, not the State, has been the root from which our civilization sprang. The Church, having her beginning at a time when the civilized world was locked fast in the vice of a terrible despotism, which made the State everything and the household nothing, except a mere unit in a vast, godless structure, had in this, as in so much else, not only clear vision of that which it was her divine commission to teach, but also preview of knowledge which would be unfolded when ages had run their course. The Church consecrated the family; it was in the family, not from the State, that she sought her children; and now it has come to pass that historical investigators have made clear to us that the complex thing which we call civilization has arisen from no concentrated force, no social contract, no unlimited right of the strong over the weak, but from the family hearth.

When men began moving from Asia to Europe they may have been uncivilized but were certainly not savages. This is proved by the words for the necessities of life and common objects which are philologically identical among nearly all the Aryan races. The dream that we have sprung from savage ancestors so brutal as hardly to have more claim to be considered men than the beasts they hunted, was very dear to an older generation of philosophers. Modern discoveries in the science of language have given the death-blow to this unintelligent superstition in its old form. We may now contentedly believe that when our forefathers came into Europe they understood the use of clothes, valued the precious metals, kept domesticated animals, and realized the sacredness of family ties—nay, if we would not be thought blind to modern lights we must do so, with, of course, the reservation that these immigrant fore-elders, notwithstanding their intelligence and cultivation, were still sprung from an absolutely savage stock. Not to be considered an “obscurantist,” it is still needful to place the savage, not the man made in the image of God, at the top of the family genealogical tree; but we are commanded to

* Elton, “Origins of English History,” pp. 191–198.

† W. E. Hearn, “The Aryan Household,” p. 82.

believe, on pain of being thought almost equally imbecile, to recognize the fact that the fathers and mothers of our people, when they first settled in these northern lands, were persons of whom no reasonable Englishman need feel ashamed. We admit the latter conclusion, and, registering our protest against the existence of the primæval savage, pass on.

As we have said, when the Aryans entered Europe they possessed domestic animals and metals, they knew the use of hemp and wool, and probably, though this is a matter of doubt, understood the cultivation of corn. Their family life was primitive but traced on moral lines; right and wrong were words which conveyed to them ideas at least as distinct as they do to the men we meet in the streets to-day. When they settled down each family had its own homestead, its own sacred hearth, where the family sacrifices were offered, and its own demesne, which was in the hands of the house-father, and into which an intruder came at his peril. Around was wild woodland, marsh or moor, on which the men of the family hunted and fished, from which they procured wood for building, domestic use, and fires. These separate family homesteads would be near together; the men who settled in one place, were, it is believed, near of kin, or if not so in reality, had a tradition of blood relationship. Surnames were unknown then and for long ages after, but tribal names came into being very early. We find them preserved in every place where the Teutons have made permanent settlements, and when a whole family group shifted from one place or country to another, the tribal place-name underwent transference also. Thus we have Massingham in Norfolk, and Masinghen, Mazinghem and Mazingarbe in Artois; Burringham in Lincolnshire, Burrington in Devonshire, and Böhringen far away in Germany. Examples of this kind might be multiplied to a great extent. While land was very plentiful it had, apart from the labour bestowed upon it, little or no value. It is only when a population reaches a certain state of density that the soil itself, apart from the human industry that has made it fruitful, becomes a valuable possession. In the earliest times, putting aside very exceptional situations, the unreclaimed land, being common to all, would have no value. It is evident, however, that as time went on the original settlements would become over-populated. At first, further clearings would be made, and the village community increase in number of homesteads by each son carving out for himself a new piece. This could not go on for ever. The good land would soon come to an end, for in a primitive state of agriculture land of third-rate quality is worthless; then the house-father would be compelled, before or at his death, to make provision for his sons by sharing the ancestral estate among

them. Here we have the origin of gavelkind—a form of devolution which has been more widely spread than even ultimogeniture. Gavelkind, however, when limited within a narrow area, can only be a temporary provision. As population increased it became an absolute necessity, if the inhabitants were not to starve, that the young men, as they grew up to man's estate and ceasing to be *pars domus*,* became members of the village community, should find new settlements for themselves. Their fathers were not in a position to divide the private estate with them, and of new communal land none was to be had, it became an absolute necessity that they should seek homes elsewhere. This fact accounts in part at least for that vast shifting of population which took place when the Roman Empire fell into decay. The vast hordes of men which poured in from the East upon the decaying civilization of Italy and the lands beyond the Rhine, were considered by the elder school of historians as evidences of nomadic barbarism. We would rather say that they testify to a population too dense for their native lands to support; but whether to nomadism, or to a settled agricultural life, must depend on the evidence that is forthcoming with regard to each separate wave. As far as we have examined this intricate subject, we are inclined to the opinion that the tribes of Tartar blood were composed mostly of men who had been wanderers in the lands they had occupied, but that the Teutonic waves were mainly composed of those who came from settled homes.

It would naturally be the elder sons of a household who would depart on careers of adventure, to carve out for themselves homes in the West. If the dangers of travel and the chances of war did not cut him off, many an adventurous youth founded a new community, on the plan of the old home, the very name of which, as we have shown, might possibly be an echo of that which was left behind. When, however, the swarm departed from the parent hive, all the sons would not leave the shadow of the ancestral roof-tree. They would, in most cases, go one by one, as they were old enough to bear arms, when they had ceased to be *domus pars*, and had become what a Roman would have called a member of the *civitas*. But one, commonly the youngest, would be left behind; on him would devolve the duty of succouring his mother and unmarried sisters. To his lot would fall all the religious duties connected with the sacred hearth, and his would be the inheritance of the ancestral home, the plough land and enclosed meadow which surrounded it, and such rights of tillage and grazing on the public land, and such timber, firewood and pannage as the forest afforded. Among primitive peoples

* Tacitus, "Germania," xiii.

institutions grow slowly but strike their roots deep. When once formed they become a part of the furniture of their minds, and have much of the binding force that a direct moral precept has on those who have bowed before the cross. They become connected with the religious feelings which have gathered around the hearth, a part of that ancestor worship which had been evolved by the Aryan mind when the memory of the one true God had become dim. We do not believe that any fixed law of succession would grow up in a generation, or that this rule of the heirship of the youngest born sprang into existence at all the points where we find it at the same time. It would require in most cases centuries for a habit to develop into a fixed custom, giving a right, such as no father could set on one side, to his youngest son to succeed to the homestead. That such a right had matured itself ere Celt, Scandinavian, Angle or Frisian set foot on our shores is manifest by its existence here in such varied forms. We have no data by aid of which to make even a plausible guess as to when the Celtic occupation of what we now call England took place, and it is almost as rash to conclude that we possess trustworthy data as to the eldest Teutonic settlements. Those recorded in Bede and the Chronicle, which is so precious a monument of our speech in its early youth, must be received in the outlines, at least, as beyond question; but who will undertake to prove that Hengist and Horsa rode upon the crest of the first wave of German conquest that ever burst upon our shores? This conclusion has been called in question more than once. As regards one eastern county, it has been combated with an amount of learning and industry of which it is not possible to think lightly, and for which no satisfactory answer seems to be forthcoming.* A careful examination of the place-names of another shire washed by the German Ocean points to the conclusion that some at least of the place-names, of admittedly Scandinavian origin, with which it abounds, are of a date earlier than the Roman occupation. However this may be, if the conclusions we have arrived at are correct, and we see no line of argument by which they can be overthrown, we have, in the Borough English tenure, no creation of feudalism, no badge of a servile class, no testimony to Norman cruelty and wrong, but a memorial of the free life of a free people. A relic

Saved from the deluge storm of Time,

which testifies to us that our long-forgotten forefathers, though they wandered in the dark shadow-land of heathenism, yet revered the sanctities of the natural law; that the family and its

* Walter Rye, "History of Norfolk," pp. 3-22.

home were, above all things else, precious in their eyes ; that the house and the family acres were not mere property, like the iron spear or the golden armlet, but precious beyond all else, because around them were clustered home duties and home charities. It was the centre of the domestic affections, and therefore the inheritance, not of the eldest born, who might have wandered far away to strange lands, not to be rashly rendered useless by division among the whole family, but to be reserved entire for him—the youngest born—who had remained at home with the old people, tended upon them in life, and closed their eyes in death.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

ART. IV.—THE GREVILLE MEMOIRS.

The Greville Memoirs : A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV., King William IV., and Queen Victoria. By the late CHARLES C. F. GREVILLE, Esq., Clerk of the Council to those Sovereigns. Edited by HENRY REEVE, C.B., D.C.L., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. A New Edition, in Eight Volumes. London and New York : Longmans, Green & Co. 1888. Vol. I. to Vol. VI.

TO those in middle life, for whom the past holds as much as, or perhaps more than, the future promises, there can be no greater pleasure than the study of a carefully written retrospect of the years gone by—a retrospect in which historical events and past interests are recalled to memory, the secret springs of doubtful social incidents are revealed, and the mysterious details of many a political puzzle are made clear. It is this gratification which the five concluding volumes of Mr. Greville's Journal provide for us, those, namely, which tell the story of the present reign, from 1837 to 1860 ; and the appearance of a re-issue of the whole book may not unfittingly be made the occasion of some remarks on the contents of these important and attractive Memoirs.

Fourteen years have elapsed since the first three volumes of Mr. Greville's Journal were given to the world, and three years since the publication of the second three, whilst the two concluding volumes only appeared during the past year. The previous editions having been exhausted, the work is now published as a continuous whole, in eight uniform and cheaper volumes, and we have, in a convenient and readable form, Mr. Greville's impres-

sions of the political and social world of England from the year 1818 to 1860, together with his comments upon certain prominent events on the Continent during the same eventful period.

The first series, of three volumes, is concerned with the reigns of George IV. and William IV., and with these volumes we do not propose to deal. The events of those reigns may now be considered historical. The actors have disappeared from the scene, and we feel as if we were no more specially linked with those times than with any other period of English history, and our introductory remarks therefore can hardly be applied to them. With the following volumes it is different. The Queen, whose accession forms the opening feature of the first volume of the second series, still reigns over us. Many of us can remember the early years of her accession, and have followed with interest the chequered fortunes of her life, whilst there can be none for whom the various and manifold topics on which Mr. Greville writes have no interest.

Although published during the life-time of some persons who are mentioned in Mr. Greville's Journal, the judicious editor, Mr. Henry Reeve, has not too soon, we may feel assured, given us these pages. He allowed eleven years to elapse between the publication of the first and the second series; and, as if to deprecate the charge of over-hasty publication, the editor brings forward in the preface to the second series numerous instances, taken both from English and from French literature, and dating from the fifteenth century downwards to the present day, of Memoirs containing more or less of confidential matter, which were published during the life-time of many of those whose acts are therein recorded. He concludes with the example of the Queen herself, who, by placing in the hands of Sir Theodore Martin her own journals and correspondence, in order that her people might possess an authentic biography of the Prince Consort, has shown that, so far from objecting to the events of her reign having wide publicity, she was willing both to help and to contribute towards the true understanding of contemporary history. With so prominent a precedent in his favour, Mr. Reeve was right to delay the publication no longer; and we imagine that little pain will have been given, even to the sensitive, by these pages. Indeed, when a man enters public life he must be prepared to be criticized, to be misunderstood, and to see his character stand at the mercy of all who choose to attack it. To such as run the gauntlet of a daily and bitterly partisan press, the comments of such an observer as Mr. Greville can have but few terrors; whilst to the average student it is no small gain that by the help of these Journals, the Croker Papers, Lord Palmerston's Memoirs, and other books of the same character, the history of

the last half century can be mastered and the complete revolution which these years have witnessed may be observed and noted by all.

This revolution has been effected gradually. It is only by carefully watching the measures which, one by one, have changed our political status, or our social position, that we are able to realize the importance of each step as it was taken—an importance the whole fulness of which was not always perceived by those who brought it about, or who first witnessed it. Indeed, even in Mr. Greville's Journal it is oftener from the stray and half-unconscious remarks, which reveal more than is intended or suspected by their author, than from the matter formally recounted, that we see how far distant we are to-day both from the political position and from the whole tone of thought of fifty years ago. If the political changes have been great, those which have occurred in the material world have been not less momentous. The enormous physical changes of the last fifty years are apt to be forgotten, by those who have had no experience of life in England during the first years of this century. In some respects, our grandfathers had more in common with those living in classical times than with ourselves. To take but two instances. When Mr. Greville, in 1818, drove down from London to Brighton, or to Oatlands, he travelled in exactly the same manner, neither slower nor faster, than did our Roman conquerors of two thousand years ago. When the Journal ends, in 1860, he could with ease have dined at six in the evening at Brighton, and have been in a London theatre soon after eight o'clock. He gives us a description of his first railway journey, the *naïveté* of which is not a bad example of the value of Mr. Greville's occasional remarks which we noticed above. Travellers of to-day, to whom the incidents of railway locomotion are so familiar as to pass unnoticed, will be amused at reading the manner in which they impressed a man past forty years of age, when he first experienced them. For instance: In July, 1837, there being nothing specially to keep him in London, Mr. Greville starts on an expedition to see the "Birmingham Railway," which will take him to the Liverpool races. The first part of his journey he performs in the old-fashioned way; and he spends twelve hours in getting from London to Birmingham. There "he got upon the railroad," and tells us:—

Nothing can be more comfortable than the vehicle in which I was put—a sort of chariot with two places. The first sensation is a slight degree of nervousness, and a feeling of being run away with; but a sense of security soon supervenes, and the velocity is delightful. Town after town, one park and château after another, are left behind

with the rapid variety of a panorama, and the continual bustle and animation of the changes and stoppages make the journey very entertaining. Considering the novelty of its establishment, there is very little embarrassment, and it certainly renders all other travelling irksome and tedious (vol. iv. p. 11).

Again, when at the beginning of his official life, Mr. Greville was summoned to attend a Council meeting, or received the foreign intelligence on which he commented with so much care, the despatches came to him in the same form and at the same speed as King George received the news of the battle of Waterloo, and the Roman Senate that of the battle of Actium, so little had eighteen hundred years accelerated the pace at which news travelled. Before the close of his career, however, another great change, at one bound, was upon us, and Mr. Greville was discussing the events of the American Civil War at a shorter date after their occurrence than he had been able to discuss those which in Paris followed the dethronement of Charles X. No doubt the unexampled development of our wealth and social relations is mainly due to these two innovations, steam and electricity; and the changes which, regretted by some, welcomed by others, must yet be acknowledged by all, have naturally followed in their wake.

Mr. Greville started in life with great advantages. If he did not, as he himself is constantly lamenting—if he did not profit as he might have done by his unusually good opportunities, he did so more than many young men in his position would have done. Born at a time when high connections, if not absolutely necessary to official success, were yet of great service in procuring it, his near relationship to the aristocratic houses of Greville and Bentinck early brought forth fruit; and whilst it gave him access to the highest society, it was the means also of providing him with the liberal income necessary for its enjoyment. Before he was twenty, he left Oxford to become private secretary to Lord Bathurst; and not long after, his grandfather, the Duke of Portland, was able to obtain for him the Secretaryship of Jamaica. This was a sinecure, the duties of the office being performed by deputy. The Duke was, however, also able to procure for his grandson the reversion of the clerkship to the Privy Council, a very different post, and one which brought Mr. Greville into intimate relations and official contact with the leading statesmen of his day, and, to a less extent, with the Crown itself. He was actually installed in 1821, and he occupied the post for forty years.

It is perhaps mainly due to his holding this appointment in the Privy Council, that we owe the value of Mr. Greville's Journal. His position, as that of one who stood outside political changes and passions, whilst at the same time he moved in the

inner circle of high political life, was one which afforded unusual opportunities for knowing all that was passing, yet created no temptation to indulge in partisan predilections ; and he was in consequence able to comment in an impartial spirit, and with painstaking accuracy, on important subjects of the day. As we noted above, Mr. Greville was free from pecuniary anxiety. The double salaries which he drew, both for the work which he actually did as Clerk of the Council in London, and for that which, by the recognized custom of the day, was performed for him amongst the less pleasant surroundings of the West Indies, were ample. He was, therefore, without the incentive to exertion which the fear of poverty engenders in many men. This may have been but a qualified advantage. Had Mr. Greville been driven to exert himself more, his undoubtedly great abilities, his power of careful observation and discrimination, his sober and sound judgment, might have enabled him to co-operate in the making of history, instead of merely recording its events. That he himself was conscious of greater powers than he ever put forth, these pages give ample evidence. He has been exposed to much severe and to some harsh criticism ; but we doubt that any critic has dealt more hardly with Mr. Greville, than Mr. Greville has dealt with himself. He is constantly contrasting the society he might have enjoyed with that which he actually frequented, and lamenting the small use he made of the many opportunities which he enjoyed. Thus, after passing a week at Bowood in the society of Thomas Moore, Lord Macaulay, Mrs. Butler (Fanny Kemble), Rogers the poet, Lord John Russell, and many other literary and political notabilities, after admitting that he had never passed a week in which he had listened to so much good talk—and talk quite untainted by scandal, or gossip—he laments :—

And this is the sort of society which I might have kept instead of that which I have. I have had all the facilities I could desire for adopting either description of society, for spending my time among the cultivated and wise, or among the dissipated, the foolish and the ignorant ; and, with shame and sorrow, I must admit that by far the largest proportion of my time has been wasted on and with the latter (vol. v. p. 72).

Racing, Mr. Greville's main interest, is a matter of far greater self-reproach and annoyance to him than of pleasure. He seldom visits Newmarket or attends race-meetings, without expressing the great dissatisfaction which a man with a capacity for better things would naturally feel at the society and surroundings to which, on the turf, he is forced to submit. Even when recording a triumph he achieved at Ascot, where, in 1846, he won the Emperor's Cup, and admitting that

there was a moment of excitement and joy when I won this fine piece of plate in the midst of thousands of spectators [he continues] :

But that past, there returned the undying consciousness of the unworthiness of the pursuit, filling my thoughts, hopes and wishes, to the exclusion of all other objects and occupations; agitating me, rendering me incapable of thought and reflection, and paralyzing my power of reading. All this is very bad and unworthy of a reasonable creature. I ought to throw off these trammels, and abandon a pursuit so replete with moral mischief to me (vol. v. p. 404).

Mr. Greville's life seems naturally to divide itself into the same three parts into which Mr. Reeve, on its first publication, divided his Journal. As the editor tells us, during the reigns of George IV. and William IV., Mr. Greville makes his appearance as a man of fashion and pleasure, plunged, as was not inconsistent with his age and social position, in the dissipation and amusements of the day. He was a great deal at Court and at Oatlands, the Duke of York's residence, and had the care of the latter's racing stables. This period of his life may be said to end with his journey into Italy and the death of William IV. The subjects commented on during these years are of less permanent interest than those discussed in the subsequent volumes. They are more "anecdotal" in character, and connected with the gossip of society, whilst the opinions expressed by Mr. Greville bear evidence of their author's youth, and were often corrected by subsequent experience. .

In the second division of his career, which includes the first fifteen years of the present reign, Mr. Reeve tells us:—

He enters, with all the energy of which he is capable, upon the great political struggles of the time—the earnest advocate of peace, of moderation, of justice, and of liberal principles—regarding with a discriminating eye and with some severity of judgment, the actions of men swayed by motives of ambition and vanity from which he was himself free. This was the most active period of his life (vol. i. p. ix., preface to new edition).

But, as Mr. Greville advanced in years, he withdrew more and more from society. During the third and last division of his life, the infirmities from which he had always suffered increased ; and many of the sources from which he had so often drawn information were no longer open to him. Hence, although the years were pregnant with events of much interest, he finds but little to say concerning them which is not already known to the ordinary student. In 1857, in speaking of his Journal, he writes:—

I have read over the few preceding pages, and am disgusted to find how barren they are of interest and how little worth preserving. They show how entirely my social relations have ceased with all those friends and acquaintances from whom I have been in the habit of drawing the information which the earlier part of this Journal contains, and

consequently my total ignorance of all political subjects. There was a time when I should have had a great deal to say upon passing events of interest or importance, but all that is gone by.

Again, three years later, he tells us, as a reason for writing no more :—

I have long seen that it is useless to attempt to carry this Journal on, for I am entirely out of the way of hearing anything of the slightest interest beyond what is known to all the world. I therefore close this record with a full consciousness of the smallness of its value or interest, and with great regret that I did not make better use of the opportunities I have had of recording something more worth reading.

It is therefore obvious, that the most valuable volumes of Mr. Greville's Journal are those which form the second series, and which treat of the years 1837 to 1852, and to these we propose, on the present occasion, to confine our attention. To give any adequate account of the whole Journal would simply be, to tell the story of forty eventful years of English history; whilst, even to annotate satisfactorily all that is mentioned of interest, or moment during the above-named fifteen years, would demand greater space than is placed at our command. There are, however, two subjects concerning which our readers will probably not object to hear the passing thoughts of a keen, discriminating observer of forty or fifty years ago. The first of these subjects is of interest to all of us. The other is of special interest to Catholics. We propose therefore to confine our attention, in the first place, to the character and action of our Queen when she ascended the throne; and then, to topics which more or less directly touch on the position of the Catholic Church in England.

With the Jubilee rejoicings still fresh in our memory, the deafening cheers almost ringing in our ears, and the bright illuminations only recently extinguished, we believe that our readers will turn with interest to a quieter scene fifty years ago, which contrasts in so marked a manner with the noisy, even if loyal, celebration of the other day. In the early morning of June 22, 1837, a young girl of eighteen was unexpectedly aroused from her sleep at Kensington Palace, and wrapped in a muslin dressing-gown and with slippers on her naked feet, appeared before the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Conyngham. She was addressed by the latter as "Your Majesty." Few can read this scene in Mr. Greville's pages without some degree of emotion, and without being struck by the contrast between the magnificence of the actual position and the simplicity of its outward manifestation. A young girl, without any obvious sign of royalty or power, having till now lived in quiet retirement, is met by the

salutation of "Your Majesty :" two short words, though telling a tale of world-wide empire, unimagined even by the proudest Roman Emperor. We gather that the almost child-Queen to some extent realized the dignity of her position, for Mr. Greville tells us that, "As soon as Lord Conyngham uttered the words, 'Your Majesty,' she instantly put out her hand to him," intimating thereby that he was at liberty to kiss hands, before he proceeded. He dropped on one knee, kissed her hand, and then proceeded to announce to Queen Victoria the death of King William.

There can be little cause for wonder at the enthusiasm which the Queen excited in the first years of her reign. The position was dramatic in the extreme, and she seems to have met its requirements in a dignified and yet artless manner, which cannot but have charmed and captivated all who were brought in contact with her. As noted above, the sudden elevation of a young girl of eighteen, who had lived in strict seclusion, and had experienced what she herself describes as a "sad childhood," to one of the proudest positions in the world, is a contrast likely to lead captive the imagination of a whole people. In such an exalted station, a thousand mistakes would not only have been possible, but very natural. And yet, all the fault that so careful and acute an observer as Mr. Greville can find is that, for one so youthful, the Queen perhaps shows an excess of caution, adding at the same time :—

With all her prudence and discretion she has great animal spirits, and enters into the magnificent novelties of her position with the zest and curiosity of a child.

He describes her at one of her first balls at Buckingham Palace, and tells us :—

The Queen's manner and bearing were perfect. She danced first with Prince George, then young Esterhazy, then Lord Fitzalan. Before supper, and after dancing, she sat on a sofa, somewhat elevated in the drawing-room, looking at the waltzing ; she did not waltz herself. Her manners are exceedingly graceful and blended with dignity and cordiality, a simplicity and good humour, when she talks to people, which are mighty captivating. When supper was announced, she moved from her seat, all her officers going before her—she first, alone, and the Royal Family following ; her exceeding youth strikingly contrasted with their mature age, but she did it well (vol. iv. p. 95).

The Queen, on her accession, found Lord Melbourne and a Whig Government in office, and she at once gave her whole confidence to her Prime Minister. He was a man well suited to the interesting, though delicate, task of training his young Sovereign for her position as constitutional Queen. She had conceived a

high opinion of his worth during the previous year when, on the occasion of some dispute at Kensington between her mother and King William touching her own proposed allowance, Lord Melbourne, although he knew the King's life was closing, so far from showing any disposition to court the rising power, had taken the King's side as against herself. "She considered this to be a proof of his honesty and determination to do what he thought right." Lord Melbourne's manner to the Queen, and the Queen's manner to Lord Melbourne, strike all who see them together :—

His, so parental and anxious, but always so respectful and deferential ; hers, indicative of such entire confidence, such pleasure in his society. She is always talking to him, and let who will be there, he always sits next her at dinner. It is not unnatural, and to him it is peculiarly interesting. I have no doubt he is passionately fond of her, as he might be of his daughter if he had one. It is become his province to educate, instruct, and form the most interesting mind and character in the world. No occupation was ever more engrossing or involved greater responsibility. I have no doubt that Melbourne is both equal to the task, and that it is fortunate she has fallen into his hands, and that he discharges this great duty wisely, honourably and conscientiously (vol. iv. p. 135).

A little later, Mr. Greville spends a couple of days at Windsor, and gives us an account of the manner in which the Queen passes her day :—

The life which the Queen leads is this : she gets up soon after eight o'clock, breakfasts in her own room, and is employed the whole morning in transacting business ; she reads all the despatches, and has every matter of interest and importance in every department laid before her. At eleven or twelve Melbourne comes to her, and stays an hour, more or less, according to the business he may have to transact. At two she rides with a large suite ; Melbourne always rides on her left hand, and the equerry in waiting generally on her right ; she rides for two hours along the road, and the greater part of the time at a full gallop ; after riding she amuses herself for the rest of the afternoon with music and singing, playing, romping with children, if there are any in the Castle (and she is so fond of them, that she generally contrives to have some there), or in any other way she fancies. The hour of dinner is nominally half-past seven, soon after which time the guests assemble, but she seldom appears till near eight. When the guests are all assembled, the Queen comes in, preceded by the gentlemen of the household, and followed by the Duchess of Kent and all her ladies ; she speaks to each lady, bows to the men, and goes immediately into the dining-room. She generally takes the arm of the man of highest rank, but on this occasion she went with Mr. Stephenson, the American Minister (though he has no rank), which was very wisely done. Melbourne invariably sits on her left, no matter who may be there ; she remains at table the usual time, but does not suffer the men to

sit long after her, and we were summoned to coffee in less than a quarter of an hour. In the drawing-room, she never sits down till the men make their appearance. Coffee is served to them in the adjoining room, and then they go into the drawing-room, when she goes round and says a few words to each, of the most trivial nature, all, however, very cordial in manner and expression. When this little ceremony is over, the Duchess of Kent's whist-table is arranged, and then the round-table is marshalled, Melbourne invariably sitting on the left hand of the Queen, and remaining there without moving till the evening is at an end. At about half-past eleven she goes to bed, or whenever the Duchess has played her usual number of rubbers, and the band have performed all the pieces on their list for the night. This is the whole history of her day! She orders and regulates every detail herself, she knows where everybody is lodged in the Castle, settles about the riding or driving, and enters into every particular with minute attention (vol. iv. p. 152).

From the above we see how much time Lord Melbourne spent with the Queen, and how great was his influence with her Majesty. At this early age her mind must have been pliable; and if we have enjoyed over fifty years of the reign of a Sovereign who has so ably played her part, we ought not to forget that she probably learnt her lesson of constitutional monarch from her first Minister, and that we owe him a proportionate degree of gratitude. To Lord Melbourne is due the fact that the Queen has acted a difficult part without any serious differences having arisen between herself, her people, or either House of Parliament; and that she has allowed the nation to emancipate itself from all royal control in [so unobservable and pacific a manner. Indeed, it is only by imagining ourselves led back to the first half of this century and endeavouring to realize the state of things at that date, that we perceive the vast political changes the last fifty years have worked in this realm. In 1837 there was little doubt that the Government was the *Queen's Government*; as little is there in 1888 that it is the Government of the *people*!

A year after her accession, the Queen was crowned in Westminster Abbey; and, as we read Mr. Greville's account of the state of London during the days before and following the event, we can almost imagine that we are reading a newspaper of last June. On June 27, 1888, he writes:—

There was never anything seen like the state of this town; it is as if the population had been on a sudden quintupled; the uproar, the confusion, the crowd, the noise are indescribable. Horsemen, footmen, carriages squeezed, jammed, intermingled, the pavement blocked up with timbers, hammering and knocking, and falling fragments stunning the ears and threatening the head; not a mob here and there, but the town, all mob, thronging, bustling, gaping, and

gazing at everything, at anything, or at nothing; the park one vast encampment, with banners floating on the tops of the tents (vol. iv. p. 109).

The day itself (June 28) was fine, "no rain, nor heat," and the multitude who thronged the streets were orderly and well pleased. Within the Abbey itself all was splendour, particularly the benches where the peeresses sat, blazing with diamonds. The Queen herself looked rather diminutive in stature, and seems to have been often at a loss, as to the part she was to play in the august function. No one, with the exception of Lord John Thynne—who acted for the Dean of Westminster—and the Archbishop of Canterbury, seems to have taken the trouble to master their part, and during the intricate ceremonial much confusion was the result. The Queen eventually turned in despair to Lord John Thynne, and said: "Pray tell me what I am to do, for they don't know." At the end of the service, when the orb was placed in her hand, she again turned to him, and asked what she was to do with it. "Your Majesty is to carry it, if you please, in your hand," was the answer. "Am I?" she said; "it is very heavy." By some unfortunate blunder, the ruby ring had been made to fit her little finger instead of her third, on which the rubric directed that it should be placed. She tried to induce the Archbishop to put it on her little finger, arguing truly that it was too small for the third finger; but as he insisted that the latter was the right place, the Queen yielded, took off her other rings, and allowed him to force it on. It hurt her much, however; and after the ceremony was concluded, she was obliged to bathe her hand in iced water to get it off.

Amidst all this splendour, the Queen's consideration and kindness of heart were evident. When Lord Rolle, a peer between eighty and ninety years of age, approached the throne to do homage, he stumbled and fell on the steps. She instantly rose, and asked: "May I not get up and meet him?" and when he again approached the throne she advanced, and came one or two steps towards him—an act of graciousness that was warmly appreciated.

Mr. Greville estimates that a million of people had a sight of the gorgeous procession, which wound its way from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey by a route that lengthened the distance into between two or three miles; the whole way was thronged with a dense mass of spectators. No doubt the numbers at the late Jubilee were considerably greater, for we were then told of an extra million of persons who had crowded into London for the sight. This is not unlikely, for not only must we remember the immense increase in the population of the country,

but also, how easy now has become the access to London. If, as Mr. Greville tells us, so much was done at the coronation to amuse and interest the people, the people then must have been mainly Londoners, whereas in 1887 they were gathered from every part of England. The sight of the vast and orderly crowds in the streets, and of the fair in the park, which was arranged for the amusement of the lower classes, were not without their effect on the foreigners who were present. In the evening Mr. Greville met Prince Esterhazy, and asked him what the foreigners had thought of the spectacle. He replied that they had admired it all very much. "Stroganoff and the rest don't like you, but they feel it, and it makes a great impression on them. In fact, nothing can be seen like it in any other country."

The coronation, however, was but the event of a day. We must now return to the political side of the Queen's early life.

Agreeable and, in many respects, suitable as was Lord Melbourne's close relationship with the Queen, it was not without its disadvantages. Lord Melbourne was but a Minister, and he was dependent for his position upon the favour of a Parliamentary majority. Should he cease to enjoy a majority, even at this date, the tie between the Crown and the Minister must be broken; the parting would then be painful, and their subsequent relations might be embarrassing to themselves and, possibly, the cause of jealousy to future Ministers. From 1837 to 1841, Lord Melbourne's tenure of office was precarious. As Lady Holland tersely said, the Ministry existed only by favour of "Paddy and the Queen." That is to say, it was only saved from constant defeat in Parliament, by the Irish vote; and from the natural result of having lost the confidence of Parliament, by the Queen's unwillingness to part with her favourite Minister. In 1839 a crisis arose. The Ministry met with so serious a reverse that they resolved to quit office. This resolution was entirely unexpected by the Queen, and threw her into such a state of concern and agitation that she was obliged to dine and spend the evening in her own room. Lord Melbourne advised her Majesty to send for the Duke of Wellington, which she consented to do on the following day. By this time she had regained her wonted composure, and the Duke was much pleased by the frankness and good sense displayed by the Queen. Owing to his age and deafness he was not himself able to serve her, but he suggested that she should apply to Sir Robert Peel, the leader of the Tory party in the House of Commons. Although the Queen disliked him personally she made no objection to taking this course. Sir Robert Peel, therefore, was sent for and was commissioned to form a Ministry, and the Tories were rejoicing over their victory

and their speedy advent to power. Their rejoicing, however, was premature, for an unforeseen difficulty arose. The young Queen, as is well known, absolutely refused to part with the ladies of her household. For a girl of nineteen, she undoubtedly showed an unusual amount of self-will and determination. Both the Duke and Peel failed to influence her decision. She was not only resolved not to give way, but she met their arguments at every point, and was prepared with answers to all they could urge. As the Queen would not yield, so neither would Peel; and he informed her that, under these altered circumstances, he must again consult his party. Meanwhile the old Ministers, still the *de facto* Government, called a Cabinet meeting, at which Lord Melbourne laid before them a letter from the Queen, written in so true an Elizabethan spirit that, had that spirit retained all its fire and been often exhibited, the history of the last fifty years would probably have been different:—

Don't fear [she writes] that I was not calm and composed. They wanted to deprive me of my ladies, and I suppose they would deprive me next of my dressers and my housemaids. They wished to treat me like a girl, but I will show them that I am Queen of England (vol. iv. p. 209).

After various suggestions for a compromise from different members of the Cabinet, which all fell to the ground, they composed a letter for the Queen, in which she simply declined to place the offices of the ladies of her household at Peel's disposal. On the receipt of this communication, Sir Robert Peel resigned his commission to form a Government. As Mr. Greville truly says, this episode

Is a high trial to our institutions. The wishes of a Princess of nineteen can overturn a great Ministerial combination, and the most momentous matters of Government and legislation are influenced by her pleasure about her Ladies of the Bedchamber. The Whigs resigned because they had no longer that Parliamentary support for their measures which they deemed necessary, and they consent to hold the Government without the removal of any of the difficulties which compelled them to resign, for the purpose of enabling the Queen to exercise her pleasure, without any control or interference, in the choice of the ladies of her household (vol. iv. p. 214).

At first, Mr. Greville was disposed to think that the Queen had been harshly dealt with by Peel. On further inquiry, however, he qualified this opinion, and came to the conclusion that a great part of the difficulty had arisen through a misunderstanding, and that Peel had been wanting in no proper consideration for his royal mistress. The circumstances were difficult. He was about to take office, without any assured majority in the

House of Commons ; and he could not, at the same time, face a Parliamentary minority and a Court entirely hostile to himself. At this juncture, Mr. Greville endeavours to play the part which, as years advance, he more and more often fills—namely, that of mediator between the two Parliamentary parties, and of elucidator of any misapprehensions that may prevent the adjustment of difficulties. He endeavours to arrange that the Queen should again see the Duke of Wellington, and from him learn the exact extent of the sacrifice which Peel had demanded from her, and which Mr. Greville believes she greatly exaggerates. If she were reassured, he hopes that the Queen will again place herself in Peel's hands. On this occasion, however, Mr. Greville's negotiations fail, and the Whigs resume office.

Mr. Greville heard directly from Lord John Russell, that the Queen had told her version of the whole story to himself and to Lord Melbourne, and had concluded with the words : "I have stood by you ; and you must now stand by me." To this they consented, and they resumed the reins of office without having acquired any more substantial power than they previously possessed, and with the additional disadvantage of having an Opposition greatly and bitterly exasperated against them.

The decay of loyalty in the Tory party, owing probably to the favours shown by the Queen to the Whigs, is a remarkable feature in the early years of this reign. Mr. Greville writes : "No opposition was ever more rabid than this is ; no people ever treated or spoke of the Sovereign with such marked disrespect." So strong was this party feeling, that about this time at a great Tory dinner at Shrewsbury, the company refused to drink the health of the new Lord Lieutenant of the County, the inoffensive Duke of Sutherland, merely because the Duchess, his wife, was the head of the Queen's household. We have a still more startling instance of disloyalty in a speech made at Canterbury by a certain Mr. Bradshaw : "A tissue of folly and impertinence and a personal attack on the Queen, of the most violent and indecent kind ;" which yet, at a Conservative dinner, was received with shouts of applause. This speech had remarkable results. Mr. Horsman, a strong Whig, publicly denounced Bradshaw, as having "the tongue of a traitor, and the heart of a coward ;" and, in consequence, he was called to account for his words by the latter. The episode ended in a duel between Horsman and Bradshaw, when, after an exchange of shots, neither combatant being touched, Bradshaw makes "a stingy apology for his insults to the Queen, and Horsman apologizes for his offensive expressions towards Bradshaw."

Although there can be little doubt of the Queen's popularity on the whole, these were unpleasant features ; as also, in contrast

with the demonstrations of to-day, was the absence of all outward marks of respect when she appeared in public. Thus, at Ascot, in 1838, though the Queen was tolerably well received, but few hats were lifted as she passed. "This mark of respect," says Mr. Greville, "has quite gone out of use, and neither her station nor sex procures it ; we are not the nearer a revolution for this, but it is ugly" (vol. iv. p. 106).

A year or two later, however, all the loyalty to the Crown which existed in the country was awakened by an attempt being made on the Queen's life by a half-insane youth. As she and Prince Albert were driving up Constitution Hill, the lad fired two shots at the royal carriage. Neither shot took any effect; but the courage and self-possession exhibited by the Queen were remarkable. Fearing lest some rumours might reach her mother, she drove straight to the Duchess of Kent's, to assure her of her safety; after which, she continued her drive in the Park. By this time, the danger to which the Queen had been exposed, having become widely known, she was most enthusiastically received by the crowds that had assembled to see her. The equestrians in the Park formed themselves into an impromptu escort, and attended her back to the Palace, amidst vociferous cheering. When, a little later, she was at Ascot, the same gratifying evidence of loyalty was manifested; in fact, the act of this madman had the effect of making her Majesty extremely popular. Perhaps, partly influenced by the widespread interest and joy shown at her escape, she now began to make her Court less exclusive, thereby creating a better feeling between herself and the Tories, and this result must have been welcome to all. But we are slightly anticipating.

Those who have only known the Queen of late years, may perhaps feel surprised at the amount of independence and self-will which were noticeable to observers in her youth. She soon frees herself from even Lord Melbourne's influence. His sister, Lady Cowper (afterwards Lady Palmerston), expresses to Mr. Greville her fear of the serious consequences which are likely to result from her determined character. This proved to be an unfulfilled apprehension; for since the early days of which we have written, we can recall no instance in which the Queen has allowed her own wishes to interfere with the constitutional position she has always maintained. The occasion on which Lady Cowper notes this independence of character, was that of the Queen's own arrangement of her marriage with Prince Albert; and this, without any consultation, or even without any frank communication with her Minister, Lord Melbourne. It is perhaps not too much to surmise, that, when once she was safe in the hands of the wise and honourable man whom she married, her husband's influence

may have been successfully used to prevent any farther indiscretion on her part.

Mr. Greville was present at the Council meeting at which the Queen's engagement was formally announced :—

All the Privy Councillors seated themselves, when the folding-doors were thrown open, and the Queen came in, attired in a plain morning gown, but wearing a bracelet containing Prince Albert's picture. She read the declaration in a clear, sonorous, sweet-toned voice, but her hands trembled so excessively that I wonder she was able to read the paper which she held. Lord Lansdowne made a little speech, asking her permission to have the declaration made public. She bowed assent, placed the paper in his hands, and then retired (vol. iv. p. 255).

The Queen had seen the Duchess of Gloucester on the previous day, and had told her that she was about to make the declaration of her marriage to her Privy Council. The Duchess asked if it was not a nervous thing to do. She said : "Yes, but I did a much more nervous thing a little while ago." "What was that?" "I proposed to Prince Albert."

The years which are annotated in Mr. Greville's Journal are those which witnessed the emancipation, progress and development of the Catholic Church in England ; and the Church and her position are matters with which Mr. Greville constantly finds himself confronted. Of the actual Act of Emancipation we do not propose to speak. The subject, of course all-important to Catholics, is threadworn ; and though Mr. Greville already in 1829 duly kept his Journal, he was still a comparatively young man, and his remarks are therefore less weighty. As years advance, however, the Catholic Church and England's relations with Rome occupy and interest him more. In 1841 he mentions a meeting with Cardinal (then Dr.) Wiseman, whom he describes as a "smooth, oily, and agreeable priest," and whose conversation, though entirely on topics connected with Catholicity, he seems to have enjoyed. Dr. Wiseman, even then, was able to inform Mr. Greville of the great increase of his religion in this country. This increase he attributed neither to the Puseyites, though that party was then at its zenith, and still able to boast amongst its members many of the great men who subsequently helped to swell the triumph of Catholic progress in England ; nor to the fresh life awakened within the Church herself, by the freedom which she had lately gained, by the annulling of the penal laws, nor to the efforts of missionaries ; nor to the influence of writings ; —but, rather, to the violence and unscrupulousness of the Protestant Association and of its itinerant preachers. Dr. Wiseman says, that the advent of these agents of the Society was always

hailed with satisfaction by the priests in the districts through which they passed, as a good harvest of conversions was the result of their visits. In fact, that Balaam like, they proved a blessing to those whom they came to curse. Such retribution need not surprise us, when we remember the usual style of invective of ultra-Protestant addresses. The natural reaction against such violence would be, a feeling in favour of the Church.

How little the spirit of the religious Orders was known at this date, even to an exceptionally well-informed Englishman, is evidenced by the astonishment which Mr. Greville expresses at hearing that the Order of the Jesuits was still governed as absolutely, and that its General was still invested with the same authority, and exacted the same obedience from his subjects, as in the early period of its foundation. As an example, he tells us, he learns from Dr. Wiseman that—

When the Pope gave the Jesuits a college at Rome, the General sent for Professors from all parts of the world, summoning one from Paris, another from America, and others from different towns in Italy, and he ordered them simply, on the receipt of his letters, to repair forthwith to Rome (vol. v. p. 26).

Such prompt obedience, which to us is a mere matter of course, is evidently phenomenal in Mr. Greville's eyes.

We find Mr. Greville again in communication with Dr. Wiseman in 1847, when he had much talk with him about Rome and the Pope's recent Rescript concerning the colleges in Ireland. The misunderstanding which arose on this question is assigned to the old and still present difficulty, of there existing no diplomatic relations between England and the Holy See; and the consequent necessity under which the Pope lay of gathering his information from sources which are not always impartial or trustworthy. The result of Mr. Greville's interview with Dr. Wiseman is, that the former undertakes to speak to the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, on the matter, and promises to try and persuade him to send Lord Normanby, at this time Ambassador at Paris, as English Minister to Rome. Lord John's reply was short, and to the point: "He had ordered a Bill to be drawn up to legalize our intercourse with the Pope." We conclude that this refers to the ill-fated "Diplomatic Relations with Rome Bill," of which Mr. Greville says more later on.

This subject, a few years later, is again brought prominently to the front by the storm which was aroused in England, during the latter part of 1850, by the re-establishment in this country of the Catholic Hierarchy, or, as it was popularly called, the "Papal Aggression." In November, Mr. Greville writes, that all topics, great and small—from the probable war, which was then likely

to distract Germany, down to the rank and precedence which is to be accorded to the young Duke of Cambridge—give place to, and are uninteresting compared with, the “No Popery” hubbub, which was then raging through the length and breadth of the land.

Although untainted by the fanatical madness of the majority of his fellow-countrymen, Mr. Greville is much exercised by the tempest which has arisen. He criticises the action of Pope Pius IX. as severely as he condemns the folly of his Protestant opponents:—

The Pope has been ill-advised and very impolitic; the whole proceeding on the part of the Papal Government has been mischievous and impertinent, and deserves the severest censure. . . . On the other hand, the Protestant demonstration is to the last degree exaggerated, the intention misunderstood, and the offence unduly magnified. A “No Popery” cry has been raised, and the depths of theological hatred stirred up very foolishly, and for a most inadequate cause. John Russell, who acted prudently in declaring his Protestant sympathies, joining the public voice in condemnation of the Pope’s proceedings, and clearing himself and his Government from any suspicion of being indifferent to them, nevertheless writes a very imprudent, undignified, and, in his station, unbecoming letter. He might have said all that it was necessary to say without giving any offence; he might have taken the movement into his own hands, and satisfied the Protestants, and at the same time not dissatisfied the Catholics, pouring oil on the waters, and moderating the prevailing effervescence. But his letter has had a contrary effect. On one hand it has filled with stupid and fanatical enthusiasm all the Protestant bigots, and stimulated their rage; and on the other it has irritated to madness all the zealous Catholics, and grieved, shocked, and offended even the most moderate and reasonable (vol. vi. p. 375).

After nearly forty years’ experience, few will agree with Mr. Greville that both parties in this matter deserve blame. We feel fully convinced that the Holy Father knew his own business a good deal better than this cultivated English gentleman, who sat in judgment upon him; and that his conduct deserved none of the severe strictures which the latter passed on it. The object of the Papal action was, of course, the consolidation and advancement of the Church in this country, on the one hand; whilst, on the other, it gave to the faithful adherents of Rome, to those who, through evil report and through good report, had remained steadfast to the old faith, the gratification of seeing their religion once more occupying its right position, and enjoying the full dignity of a territorial hierarchy. By the side of such objects, which assuredly deserve the epithets neither of “impertinent,” nor of “mischievous,” his Holiness was little likely to be influenced by the

dread of an irrational outbreak of bigoted Protestantism ; nor, indeed, to take much count of the manner in which his favours were received by those outside the pale of the Church. Seeing that in the then temper of England, however cautiously he had acted, the outcry would probably have been much the same, such consideration would have been labour lost. The effect might possibly have been simply to add a new accusation of cunning craftiness to that of uncalled-for interference. Of course, however, we cannot now affirm what would have happened had the Pope acted differently to the way in which his Holiness did act. But we can, at this date, fairly well judge of the success which has followed his efforts, and compare it with the failure which followed the action of his angry and clamorous enemies.

The first Catholic Directory that comes to hand affords good evidence of the success of the "Papal Aggression" from a Catholic standpoint. We have but to compare the number of our churches, colleges and schools, of our monasteries and convents, and other institutions, to-day and in 1850 respectively, in order to gauge the measure of our increase. There stand very tangible evidences of our progress : proofs in stone, which may be looked on either as a sufficient reason for, or as the result of, the Pope's having given to the Church in England a local status, and of having taken advantage of the tide which, as we heard above from Cardinal Wiseman, had for some years been running in our favour.

On the other hand, what can our opponents show? Little besides a vast amount of unchristian-like temper, which found expression in an abortive and ridiculous attempt at petty persecution ; which, whilst it wholly failed, and did not even attempt to touch the root of the matter, prevented a real office from being designated by its real name ; an attempt, too, which, after some years of absolutely futile existence, is quietly snuffed out by the power that created it, and expired without a serious remonstrance from its promoters, and without a sign of triumph from its opponents ; an attempt which, even as we write, we see described by a weekly Protestant contemporary as "the cheap religious Chauvinism of the silly Ecclesiastical Titles Act" (*Spectator*, May 5). But we must return to 1850.

As the agitation proceeded, Mr. Greville becomes more and more annoyed at the sorry spectacle presented by his countrymen. He writes in November :—

The Protestant agitation has been going on at a prodigious pace, and the whole country is up ; meetings everywhere, addresses to bishops and their replies. . . . A more disgusting and humiliating manifestation has never been exhibited ; it is founded on prejudice and gross ignorance. . . . In the midst of all this, Wiseman has put forth a very

able manifesto, in which he proves unanswerably that what has been done is perfectly legal, and a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, with which we have no concern whatever. . . . His paper is uncommonly well done, and must produce a considerable effect, though of course not capable of quieting the storm that is now raging (vol. vi. p. 377).

The futility of the agitation naturally annoys a sensible man of the world like Mr. Greville. He sees clearly that the Government will find it equally difficult either to act effectively or to do nothing. Lord John, by the letter already referred to, had made some action imperative; and yet any action that was likely to have serious results was so completely out of harmony with the spirit of the age, as to be certain merely to play into the hands of those whom it was hoped to crush.

Although the agitation was mainly the work of bigots and fanatics, some, who ought to have known better, made use of this folly to serve their own ends. Even Lord John himself, Mr. Greville feels assured, does not *really* care about the matter, and affects far more Protestant indignation than he feels. The *Times* also, that usual abettor of all that is illiberal, and which of course was playing its usual part, and "blowing the coals for the sake of popularity," in the person of its editor, Mr. Delane, told Mr. Greville that "he thought the whole thing gross humbug and a pack of nonsense." In spite of its hollowness, Mr. Greville does not consider the agitation the less mischievous; and, a few weeks later, his patience is exhausted. He could stand no longer, without protest, the torrent of folly and violence which the newspapers, he tells us, day after day poured forth. Accordingly, he wrote a long letter, which was published in the *Times*, and signed "Carolus," for even Mr. Greville did not venture to put his name to an able and moderate appeal to the common-sense of his countrymen, common-sense being then at a discount. Although the editor felt obliged to publish his letter, so strongly was the paper committed to the opposite side, that he did so unwillingly; and Mr. Delane told Mr. Greville that he must attack him. "Accordingly they replied to the article they published, but in very complimentary terms and with very feeble arguments." Of the weakness of the arguments we may feel assured, for Mr. Greville's position was one which it was impossible successfully to assail. His main object was to insist on the difficulty which is for ever confronting statesmen—the difficulty, namely, of crushing a spiritual power by purely material means. It was encountered by the Roman Empire nearly two thousand years ago, and again to-day was met by the strongest and proudest military power of our age; and before this difficulty each in turn has been equally obliged to recede. Mr. Greville, it is true, again

refers to what he considered the ill-advised and extravagant action of the Pope ; but, granting all that his fellow countrymen can urge as justifying their indignation, as he truly says, noisy and angry resentment which results in no action, becomes, when given way to by a whole people, slightly ridiculous. " We shall assuredly look exceedingly foolish," he says, " if all the hubbub should turn out to have been made without some definite, reasonable, and, moreover, attainable object." As he pertinently asks, are the English people prepared to follow, to its legitimate result, the indignation they profess to feel at the encroachment on the Queen's prerogatives ? He continues :—

We cry out, that an insult has been offered by the Pope to the English Crown and nation ; that the ecclesiastical constitution which he has promulgated, is illegal and unconstitutional, and that it shall not be endured. When the Queen of England is insulted, or her subjects are injured by any foreign Power, she demands redress, and failing to obtain it, she exacts it by her armies and her fleets. Are we to hold the Pope, in his temporal capacity, responsible for his merely spiritual acts, and deal with him by demands and threats, and by armaments to enforce them ? I apprehend that no such extreme measures will be adopted (vol. vi. p. 495).

What then can be done ? Parliament may pass all the enactments and prohibitive laws it chooses, but it cannot touch the voluntary obedience which constitutes the only real power the Pope can count on :—

Your statutes will have no more effect at the Vatican than Papal Bulls at Westminster Hall. [And again] : All the lawyers in England would fail in devising prohibitory laws as to spiritual matters which the objects of them could not find means to evade (vol. vi. p. 495).

It is evident that the whole power of England cannot touch the Pope himself, nor can it unfrock his bishops ; whilst to wage war with the dioceses would be to fight the empty air. Mr. Greville admits that they may enact fresh laws against ecclesiastical titles, though he deprecates such measures as a lame and impotent conclusion to so great an agitation. How absolutely inoperative the law which was enacted would prove, however, even he does not suspect.

Mr. Greville believes that, although to Catholics the Pope's nominees may be *de facto* bishops, no Protestant will ever recognize their high position. He instances Dr. Ullathorne, the respected prelate whom we fortunately still have amongst us, and tells us, that although he may exercise all spiritual authority over his co-religionists, should he venture to assume the title of " Bishop of Birmingham," in the ordinary intercourse of society, he would meet with "merited contempt." This prophecy has proved to be

false. The English people have shown themselves less churlish than Mr. Greville anticipated, and the title of bishop is usually given to-day as courteously and unsuspectingly to a Catholic bishop, as that of lord to the younger son of a duke or a marquis. We can indeed give an instance of all but official recognition of the exalted standing of our Cardinal Archbishop, in the prominent place his name occupied in the announcement of a Royal Commission to inquire into the housing of the poor.

We feel that some of our readers may think that we owe them an apology, for dwelling at such length on what they may deem "a trumpery matter, arising from trumpery feelings." But when a whole nation runs mad on a subject nearly touching ourselves, Catholics may be forgiven for enlarging upon it; and we only record the facts stated above as welcome indications that our countrymen have again recovered their ordinary sobriety of mind.

As we noted some pages back, Mr. Greville believes that much of the mischief on this and other occasions when Rome and England have come into contact, has arisen from our having no diplomatic relations with the Holy See. An attempt to establish such relations had been made; but, through the timidity of its promoters it proved completely abortive, and instead of conciliating had offended the Pope. It was a characteristic instance of the peculiar perversity which seems to attend our efforts to secure direct communication with his Holiness. The English are disposed to flatter themselves that they, of all people, are the most uncompromisingly straightforward and plain spoken. Yet, whenever it is a question of Catholicity, or the simple recognition required at their hands that the Church is the greatest spiritual force in existence, the unworthy and almost childish subterfuges to which they resort would be amusing, were they not so humiliating an exhibition of the power of prejudice. An English Protestant cannot endure the thought, that millions of his fellow-subjects and hundreds of millions of his fellow-men pay a willing and implicit obedience to the Pope of Rome. They therefore adopt the somewhat ostrich-like attitude of ignoring the fact, apparently hoping thereby to annul its effects; and this, with results from which they themselves frequently suffer grave inconvenience. The object of England ought to be to establish such relations with the Holy See as would enable both parties to discuss in a friendly spirit the interests of the Pope's spiritual children in this kingdom, in the sister island, and in our Colonial Empire. That the Holy Father, as a fact, has spiritual authority over Catholics wheresoever they may be, cannot be denied; but it can be ignored by ostrich-minded people, and this was done in the above-mentioned Bill. It was clear to all, that the secular concerns of England required as little attention from

the Pope, as that the spiritual interests of Catholicity in this country required a great deal ; and yet, to satisfy the unreasoning prejudices of bigotry, the Bill was so drawn as to pretend to acknowledge the former and actually to deny the latter. The House of Lords refused to his Holiness the title of Pope, or even of Sovereign Pontiff ; and insisted that the ruler with whom it was proposed that relations should be opened, should simply be styled "Sovereign of the Roman State." Their lordships then proceeded to prohibit the Pope from sending an ecclesiastic to England as his emissary—which was exhibiting much the same spirit as would be shown by France or America, were either Republic to refuse to receive a peer as ambassador from the Court of St. James. This was an offensive, and, under the circumstances, an impossible condition, to which the Pope would naturally refuse his assent. As Mr. Greville truly says, the Bill was a sham. Its real object was to communicate with the Pope in his spiritual capacity. Yet, so anxious were its promoters to make it appear that no recognition of the Pope's spiritual authority was intended, that between the two incompatible conditions—viz., those of denying on the one hand that the power existed, and on the other establishing relations with a ruler who wielded the power, the whole matter ended in failure. We, therefore, stand to-day pretty much where we always stood. All the difficulties which existed in 1850, from the want of intercourse between the two Courts are still present in 1888; and our communications with the Pope continue to be made in a manner which Mr. Greville describes as being as underhand and clandestine as it is undignified and unsatisfactory. When the Holy Father wished, in Mr. Greville's day, to restore the English hierarchy, a project which might well have been arranged in an amicable spirit with our Government, there was no authorized agent on either side with whom to work, and the result is :—

That the nation is now convulsed by a paroxysm of wrath and indignation. . . . The great City of London is going up in solemn procession to lay at the foot of the throne its superfluous protestations of allegiance, its fanciful complaints of injury, and its vague demands for redress. And how is redress to be obtained ? After so much has been said, what is to be done ? "Ay, there's the rub !" (vol. vi. p. 498).

It is satisfactory to think that England has advanced somewhat in liberality since 1850, that a more tolerant and reasonable spirit is now, as a rule, not only to be found amongst her statesmen, but is also exhibited by the ordinary run of her people. If we Catholics are now better liked by our Protestant fellow-countrymen, we believe it to be because we are better known ; and this knowledge has mainly come from the more prominent

and open position which the Church has assumed, since the establishment of the English hierarchy.

Had we further space we might enlarge on many other topics which Mr. Greville discusses. As we before said, his Journal is very discursive ; and he has a word for every man of note, for every lady of political position, and for every prominent subject of the age in which he writes. But, we have exhausted our limits, and may say no more. Should we, however, by the above slight sketch, induce any of our readers who have not yet perused the first edition of the Greville Memoirs to read the second, we feel certain that they will thank us for some hours of pleasant and instructive recreation.

ART. V.—CATHOLICS AND COUNTY COUNCILS.

IT was said in one of the newspapers, a few weeks ago, that Mr. Ritchie's Local Government Bill means the "downfall of the territorial aristocracy." The saying is inaccurate, as are most of the utterances of the "newspaper witlings," the "pert scribbling folk" who claim to guide, or to form, what is called public opinion. In the first place, the county justices are not an aristocracy at all, in the sense in which the word was employed by the journalist. As Professor Freeman has recently pointed out, "it is quite a mistake to suppose that a Court of Quarter Sessions is wholly a body of landowners, with large estates and long local pedigrees : smaller landowners, and commercial men, are coming in faster and faster." And, in the second place, there is no good reason why the great majority of those who are most active and useful at Quarter Sessions should not be equally active and useful on the new county councils. What Mr. Ritchie's Bill does mean is, that popular voting will be substituted for official selection as the means whereby the administrators of county business will be appointed. Whatever alterations may be made in the details of the measure, whatever delay there may be in its enactment, we cannot doubt that its main provision will become law. This change is certain. Whether any public good will result from the change is, to say the least, extremely doubtful. Indeed, so far as my own opportunities—which have been fairly extensive—enable me to judge, no expectation of such good is cherished by any set of politicians. There are, of course, those who hope to

reap party or personal advantages. But it is matter of experience that such advantages are almost invariably purchased at the expense of the community. *Plectuntur Achivi* is the last word, and the true explanation, of many a so-called reform. Certain it is that the system under which county business is at present transacted, works well. It is efficient. It is economical. It places power in the hands of those who from social position, education, and leisure are best qualified to exercise power. If ever there was a system of which Lord Melbourne's famous query, "Why can't you let it alone?" might be pertinently asked, it is this system. But neither Liberals nor Conservatives can let it alone. And the reason is not far to seek. "He whom the devil drives must go." The unclean spirit of Rousseauan Liberalism has entered into the age. His political theory is the chief motive power in the European public order. And one of its cardinal principles is what Hegel has called "Atomism": the doctrine of "the government of the people, by the people"—"people" meaning, in the first half of the phrase, the whole community, and, in the second, the majority of adult males told by head; or, in other words, the doctrine that the only legitimate source of public authority is the mandate of the populace. Let me not be mistaken. I have no sort of quarrel with popular election, in itself, as a mode of designating those who are to be charged with the conduct of public business. It may be a good mode or a bad mode. That will depend, in great measure, upon the amount of wisdom and virtue possessed by the electors. The doctrine which I do deny, and which, as I conceive, cannot be too often refuted, or too strongly denounced, is this: that there is an inherent right to command, in a majority; that a peculiar sanctity attaches to the will of half the community plus one, to the odd man's volition; that all political power, not obtained by delegation from this source, is illegitimately held. M. Gambetta summed up the doctrine in a once famous speech:—

Political philosophy [he insisted] demands that the people should be considered as the exclusive, the perennial source of all rights. . . . All authority (*la toute puissance*) has its seat in the national sovereignty. The will of the people must manifest itself directly, openly; it must have the last word; all must bow before it; else national sovereignty has no existence, and the people are sold (*le peuple est joué*).

That the will of the numerical majority—what they call the people—is the supreme test of right and wrong; that nothing is sacred against it; that the laws made by the Legislature, the policy pursued by diplomatists, the judgments delivered by the tribunals, derive from it alone their validity, and must be

dictated by it, or at all events conformed to it—such is the philosophy (what a profanation of that august name!) insisted on by the school of publicists, of whom M. Gambetta was a worthy type. As though any number of "citizens"—as the phrase is—by enjoining pravity could convert the same into rectitude; as though from the empirical consensus of multitudinous individuals could be derived the true principles of social order; as though objective freedom could consist in anything else than in a willing obedience to those eternal laws which are the necessary relations of things, the laws of right in itself; as though, in Coleridge's words, it were "the abstract man, and not the abstract reason alone, which is the sovereign and legitimate lawgiver." "Their Liberalism is not liberal," said Burke of the Jacobins of the last century. The dictum holds good of the Liberalism of their successors in our own days. The Rousseauian political theory is nothing but a new, and far more noxious, version of the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience usually supposed to have been long discredited by the common-sense of mankind, the majority being substituted for a single autocrat. The dogma, I say, that in the will of one man, or of many men, is the source of right, of justice, of law, is absolutism. And absolutism, which is merely materialism in the public order, is fatal to all that is good and great in national life. Democracy! By all means give us democracy, if it really is democracy. But do not attempt to palm off upon us a counterfeit which has hardly anything in common with it but the stolen name. "Democracy is a very ancient word in the world, and has hitherto borne a definite sense, as descriptive of a system of government well known to the student, whether of ancient Greece or of mediæval Europe. But the democracy of Athens or of Florence is one thing: the so-called democracy of this nineteenth century is quite another. Whatever may be urged against that Attic democracy for which Thucydides has put so magnificent an apology into the mouth of Pericles, it was the nurse of individuality, the bulwark of law, the mother of civic virtue. To me, I own, it seems, upon the whole, the highest achievement of the ancient world. In the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages I recognize the noblest and purest type of national character attained during the Christian era; the realization of Milton's grand idea of a free commonwealth, 'where they who are greatest are perpetual servants and drudges to the public at their own charges, neglect their own affairs, and yet are not elevated above their brethren; live soberly with their families, walk the streets as other men, and may be spoke to familiarly, without adoration.'"^{*} But the

* "Chapters in European History," vol. ii. p. 197.

so-called democracy of our own days—its proper name is ochlocracy, for it means the rule not of the *δῆμος* or *populus*, but of the *ὁχλός* or populace—is founded upon a doctrine* of man and society at which the Athenian citizen or the Florentine burgher would have stood aghast; a doctrine which is destructive and dissolvent; the direct negation of that essential law of reason whereby alone is possible any true organization of the State and of real freedom within it. And to my mind the real significance of Mr. Ritchie's measure lies not in the change which it will immediately work, but in the evidence it affords how deeply that doctrine has affected our ways of thinking. The change which it will bring about will probably be, on the whole, not very considerable; at all events for a time. We shall have, for the most part, the old administrators under other designations. Here and there, no doubt, charlatans who trade on the passions and prejudices of the multitude will find and use their opportunity. But the balance of mind, the political instincts, the public sense, engendered among us by centuries of rational freedom, will usually suffice to prevent the new county councils from becoming the happy hunting-ground of those hungry demagogues, whose notion of "guarantees for the people," is something snug for themselves.†

But although the effect of Mr. Ritchie's measure may not be to dispossess generally the present administrators of county business, is it not likely to lead to the displacement of most of those among them who are Catholic? The Lords-Lieutenant—I hardly know of a single exception—are uninfluenced, in their nominations to the commission of the peace, by religious pre-dilections or animosities. Catholics who are duly qualified, are, as a rule, placed upon the magisterial bench as readily as Protestants. But is there not reason to fear that in the new elective county councils, Catholics will find a difficulty in obtaining seats? The question is worth considering. To answer it we must ask two others.

In the first place, then, is there now among the people of this country such a strong anti-Catholic feeling as would be likely to operate largely in disfavour of Catholic candidates for the county councils? For my part, I do not think there is. Twenty-eight

* For a detailed consideration of that doctrine, I must refer the reader to the seventh of my "Chapters in European History," entitled "The Principles of '89."

† CHAFFION. Qu'est-ce que le peuple vent, après tout? Il ne vent que de garanties, ce pauvre peuple.

RABAGAS. Quelles garanties?

CAMERLIN. Quelque chose pour nous.

Rabagas.

years ago a very able contributor to the *Rambler* wrote, "The positive prejudice which disqualifies Catholics, as such, in the general English mind from posts of honour and trust is still powerfully operative. . . . The blind unreasoning bigotry of the bulk of the English middle class is unimpressible and unassailable: to attempt to extract fair concessions from them, when the Pope is in the case, is, as Sir John Fortescue would say, to go 'scheryng of hogges,' with the old result of 'moche cry and little wole.' " But he added, "Catholics have no cause to despair of being able ultimately to work round free institutions, more to their advantage than they seem to be at present,"* and the event has shown that he was right. That during the last quarter of a century the old No-Popery feeling, still pretty vigorous in 1860, has greatly diminished in intensity, we all know. That it still lives and works in degrees varying in different sections of society and in different parts of the country, many of us have occasion to know also. So far as I am personally concerned, evidence of it comes before me only too frequently, in the offices of the Catholic Union. Still, even in those classes which were once its fortresses, its influence is weakened. Take the middle class, for example, where, as the writer in the *Rambler* judged, its power is "unimpressible and unassailable." Take even that section of the middle class which Mr. Matthew Arnold called "the Lower Middles," where the adherents of the various sects of Protestant Nonconformity are most numerous. It is a pious—or impious—opinion with these religionists that the Pope is "that Man of Sin," spoken of by St. Paul, and the Catholic Church the "Scarlet Woman" of the Apocalypse. But notwithstanding this, we are beginning—nay, more than beginning—to get fair treatment from "the dissidence of Dissent, and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion." At the Conference of Catholic Guardians recently held by the Catholic Union, some very striking and very satisfactory statements were made to this effect. Thus—to quote only two of them—Mr. Stout, of Birmingham, testified that in that town "the Dissenters were the first to do justice to the Catholic poor;" and Mr. Farrell, of Hull, told us that his board of guardians, "composed mainly of Dissenters, is exceedingly anxious to meet all the just requirements of Catholics." And similarly, at the half-yearly meeting of the Catholic Union in February last, Mr. A. Wilson, a very active guardian of the Wandsworth and Clapham Union, spoke of "the Dissenting clergy" as being "among his most active supporters." I could largely supplement these statements by facts within my own knowledge if it were necessary. But I hardly

* *Rambler*, March 1860, p. 384.

think it is. It may be sufficient for me to say that what comes before me in the offices of the Catholic Union leaves no doubt on my mind that even in the most anti-Catholic portion of the community there has been, during the last decade, a signal diminution of Catholic prejudice; that notwithstanding outbreaks of the old Protestant bitterness here and there—outbreaks which we must expect and which we must meet, according to the circumstances of each case, with quietness and confidence—there is a general disposition to judge of Catholics, like other members of the community, on their individual merits, and apart from their religious creed. Whether the causes to which this decay of Protestant zeal must be attributed are such as we can contemplate with unmixed satisfaction, is an inquiry that need not detain us here. It is enough for my present purpose to record my conviction that Catholics may obtain their due place in the new county councils, with little, if any, more difficulty than other members of the community, if they will.

"If they will." But will they? That is the second question to be considered. We must not forget that there is a long tradition against us. Nor can we, in this connection, lose sight of the potent influence of heredity. The disabilities under which Catholics suffered for so many generations have passed away. But can it be said that the effect of those disabilities does not, to some extent, still remain? It is a very delicate subject to be dealt with by one who has not the happiness of being a Catholic by birth. Perhaps I may be allowed to employ regarding it words of my own, which were well weighed when they were written, and which I do not know how to better:—

The Catholic body in England, in 1829, when the Act of Emancipation was passed, was hardly in a condition to profit, to any large extent, by that great measure of justice. Far be it from me to write one word sounding in disparagement of men for whom I entertain a reverential admiration, which no words can adequately express. Who, indeed, can but revere and admire the indefatigable fidelity of that heroic band of hereditary confessors? No Englishman, surely, can fail to be touched by it. But I suppose it is an unquestionable fact of history, that the political, educational, and social disabilities of centuries had told disastrously upon the Catholics of England. How could it have been otherwise? For generations they had dwelt in darkness and in the shadow of death, and the iron had entered into their souls. *Sine adjutorio, inter mortuos liber, sicut vulnerati dormientes in sepulchris,* is the true description of the state in which they found themselves when they were once more admitted to their constitutional rights ("Ancient Religion and Modern Thought," p. 82, 3rd edit.).

Of course, this state has largely passed away. It would be impertinent and invidious to mention names. But we can all point to representatives of our old Catholic families who have "come to the front," as the phrase is, and have assumed their proper place in public affairs with equal credit to themselves and advantage to the country. Then again, "the fresher zeal, the wider cultivation, the uncramped energies of the band of proselytes whom Cardinal Newman headed," were given to the service of Catholicity at an opportune moment, and have unquestionably done much to make the position of Catholics very different from what it was forty years ago. But can it be said, even now, that British Catholics, as a body and on the whole, take their due place in this country? I must own I do not think this can be said. Certainly, I should be the last person to join in those general charges of inactivity and want of public spirit sometimes brought against us. Indeed, writing in this REVIEW, two years ago, I thought myself bound to protest against an indictment preferred against our Catholic young men, as being "mere grown-up boys, with no sense of the obligations incumbent upon them worthily to uphold the august name of Catholic among a people separate from the unity of the faith, with no feeling of the responsibilities attaching to the position of an English gentleman, intent only on idle amusements and the frivolous gratifications of the passing hour."* While conceding that "the loss is immense which a young Catholic gentleman suffers who is debarred from participation in the quite unique advantages of a University training," I felt bound to say, "to me, the wonder is that the youths trained in our Catholic colleges hold their own so well." "It is my duty to testify," I added, "that those young men of our leading Catholic families with whom I have the pleasure to be acquainted—and I do not believe that my experience is exceptional—are, for the most part, by no means deficient in zeal for the Catholic religion, in patriotism, or in skill and energy in the conduct of affairs, public or private." I do not think this was too strongly said. I see no cause to unsay it in any degree. But, after all, there is another side to the medal. There are those among our young men—a minority, as I think, but a numerous minority—there are too many among our older men, wearied, it may be, by the burden and heat of life's day, in whom the feeling of public duty, of public responsibility, in a word, of the debt which we owe to our country, is by no means so strong as it ought to be. This is a great and grievous loss to us, circumstanced as we are in this country. We may well

* DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1886, p. 81.

echo the lament of Bishop Hacket : " We want public souls : we want them." And those of us who are brought much into connection with public affairs have reason to feel how much we suffer from the want. This feeling was generally expressed at our recent Conference of Catholic Guardians, and by no one perhaps more forcibly than by Mr. Farrell, in his very suggestive paper on " Catholics and Public Life." " One of our chief drawbacks," he observed, " is that we have not sufficient material to fall back upon. Very few of our people are sufficiently experienced in administrative business to induce them to test their abilities in that direction. The lack of interest Catholics themselves take in public affairs is the reason why the Catholic body of this country is not better represented in public life." And at the half-yearly meeting of the Catholic Union in last February the same theme was dwelt upon by several speakers, among them being Colonel Lenox Prendergast, whose great experience, and unwearied, self-sacrificing activity, lend special authority to his words.

Now, in the event of a great extension of Local Government [he said], have we got the men familiar with public life, and fit and able from experience of it to undertake their proper share in the work ? I put it to anybody here present whether that is the case. This is a matter of very great anxiety. I have been passing some little time in Italy, and have had communications with those with whom we sympathize in that country ; and I can assure you that men of the highest experience have told me that the last seventeen years of exclusion from public life there has had the most disastrous effects upon their young men. Here is a whole generation of young men, whose opinions sympathize with ours, but who are absolutely without any experience of public life. Where are statesmen to turn to for assistance for the coming generation if they are not brought up to it ? That is precisely, though not so strongly, the position in which we shall find ourselves if people will not take the trouble to obtain the experience. It is a great trouble and a most disagreeable task—I see those in this room who know from experience what it is—but we are not worth much if we cannot make up our minds to undergo some trouble and to perform some disagreeable duties in order to take our share in the public life of the country. I do hope that members of the Union will do what they can, so that we may largely increase the numbers of Catholic representatives on the different public boards throughout the country, for I honestly think it to be one of the most important duties that can fall to our hands at this moment.

To which let me add the following extract from a letter recently addressed to me by a Catholic gentleman in the West of England, an active magistrate and a distinguished public servant :—

I confess that I do not remark in this county any special zeal on the part of Catholic magistrates to take a share in administrative duties. Some whom I could name, rarely, if ever, attend Quarter Sessions, a circumstance which may perhaps be partly owing to their names not being on any of the various committees, such as Police, Finance, Highways, &c., which really transact the business of the county. I should rather, however, assign the reason to the diffidence of entering upon public duties which has been engendered by many generations of enforced abstention from them. But whenever a Catholic evinces a wish to take his share in such work, I think he may count upon willing co-operation from others; at least, that has been my experience both as a county magistrate and as a chairman of a local board. It is obvious, moreover, that it is only by close communication that we can expect prejudices against us to die out. I am at the same time conscious that it will demand some moral courage on the part of many Catholics to present themselves at the portal of popular suffrage to obtain an entrance to the county councils, but it would be a neglect of duty in those who are really competent, to abstain from doing so, if not debarred by age or other valid reason. If such Catholics hold back, their influence will be much less than it is at present. In fact, the public status of local Catholic magnates will be nearly annihilated unless they condescend to take a share in county business.

I would beg the earnest attention of our Catholic country gentlemen to these words, the more so as they entirely accord with the views of the Catholic Union. It has been the endeavour of the Union, from the first, to bring home to its members, and, as far as possible, to the Catholics of Great Britain generally, the duty incumbent upon us, of strenuously taking part, according to our opportunities, in the public affairs of the country. The purpose and intention of Pius IX., in sanctioning and blessing the formation of the Catholic Union was—to quote the words of the Cardinal Archbishop—"not to found any political organization, or any organization of Catholics that should in any way dabble in politics. It was to promote the solemn union of faithful and earnest Catholics, who should learn how to serve our common welfare, not by engaging in conflicts in the Union itself, but by studying the relations of the Catholic Church to the commonwealth in which we live, and how they can be useful to the Church and the commonwealth with the greatest intelligence and the greatest force." And so the President of the Union, speaking in Willis's Rooms, in February 1885, reminded the members "It would be a great mistake to look upon the Union as simply an aggressive body taking up this or that Catholic grievance: the Union cannot do better work than to inculcate upon the minds of all young Catholics the duty of taking their

proper place in the public life of their country, and of carefully watching and always using every opportunity of utilizing the advantages which the justice of the country has now placed in their power." These remarks of the Duke of Norfolk were taken up and expanded by the Vice-President. "The Catholic Union," Lord Ripon said, "is in many respects doing a very useful work by watching the administration of the law, by offering advice to those who think they have reason to complain, and by doing its utmost to remedy any of those practical grievances which in the best political system will from time to time crop up. But heartily as I approve and cordially as I agree with the objects which this Union has in view, I commend them in no spirit of narrow isolation. I do not desire—on the contrary, I should earnestly deprecate—that the Catholic body should hold itself aloof from the interests of their fellow-countrymen. I entirely concur in what fell from my noble friend in the chair, when he urged upon you the necessity and importance of Catholics throughout the country, in all ranks and positions, taking up their full and proper share in the management of public affairs. We have all some duties which we may do for our fellow-citizens, some share which we may take in promoting their interests. As country gentlemen, as dwellers in the towns, as electors of one description or another, we all have public duties, and I would earnestly add my voice to that of my noble friend, though it is not necessary to add anything to the authority of his exhortation. Still I cannot help saying how earnestly I would impress upon this Union and its members the importance of Catholics taking their full share in public affairs, for we have our part in the interests of the country and the well-being of our countrymen as fully as any other portion of our fellow-citizens. It is because I believe that the Catholic Union is in its action promoting not only the interests of Catholics as a separate body, but also that greater and wider object to which I have just alluded, that I take so deep an interest in the work in which it has been engaged."

Such is the spirit in which those in whose hands the administration of the Union is placed have, from the first, worked. And it cannot be doubted that their efforts have obtained a considerable amount of success. A very competent judge, Mr. John Austen, M.P., told us, at our annual meeting of last year: "It is a great satisfaction to me that Catholics are taking their proper place—and that place is freely open to them—in public affairs; and that this is so, I believe to be due in no small degree to the Catholic Union." We have made a good beginning, and there is no reason why we should not go on. "He who begins has half finished." Catholics throughout the country have shown themselves ready to respond to the call made upon them on behalf of

our poor whom misfortune or improvidence has forced into the workhouses. The number of elective guardians has steadily increased, and, what is of even more importance, their efficiency has steadily increased. I cannot doubt that what has been done by Catholics in respect of boards of guardians, will be done also with regard to the—I do not like to say more important, but—more dignified bodies which are to be charged with the administration of county business. "We want public souls; we want them." We want Catholics to come forward for the county councils who, as Canon Duckett well said, at our Guardians' Conference, not "only have the means and leisure to perform the duties, but also the public spirit to make the sacrifice which the performance of those duties involves." I cannot think that the descendants of those who kept the faith through centuries of persecution, will shrink from the easier tasks of a time of peace; that those who, at greater or less sacrifice of worldly advantages, have embraced the faith, will fail to find in it the strongest incentive to patriotism and all civic virtue. Most fortunately, most providentially for us, we British Catholics are as widely divided in party politics as we are closely united in religious profession. In all parties we have friends, while it is happily impossible that we should ourselves form a party. Our faith is one thing, our political opinions are another. We seek the suffrages of our countrymen as members of the same civil order as loyal and dutiful subjects of the same Sovereign, as patriotic and law-abiding children of the same country. We assert that we are not worse but better Englishmen because we are Catholics: for our allegiance to the powers that be is part of our religion. What then—if I may adopt certain words of Cardinal Newman, spoken in a somewhat different connection thirty-eight years ago, but very much in place here:—

What are our duties at this moment? With what practical remarks and seasonable advice am I to conclude? Oblige men to know you; persuade them, importune them, shame them into knowing you. Make it so clear what you are, that they cannot affect not to see you, nor refuse to justify you. There is but one step between you and success. It is a steep step, but it is one. Look at home—there lies your work; what you have to do, and what you can do, are one and the same. Let each stand in his own ground; let each approve himself in his own neighbourhood; if each portion is defended the whole is secure. Fall back on yourselves, you are your own fast and sure and sufficient friends. 'There is a time for silence and a time to speak.' The time for speaking is come. What I desiderate in Catholics is the gift of bringing out what their religion is; it is one of those "better gifts" of which the Apostle bids us be "zealous." You must not hide your talent in a napkin, or your light under a bushel. And one immediate

effect of your being able to do all this, will be your gaining that proper confidence in self which is so necessary for you. You will no longer be dispirited or irritated at finding difficulties in your way; in being called names, in not being believed, in being treated with injustice. You will fall back upon yourselves, you will be calm, you will be patient. Ignorance is the root of all littleness; he who can realize the law of moral conflicts, and the incoherence of falsehood, and the issue of perplexities, and the end of all things, and the Presence of the Judge, becomes, from the very nature of the case, philosophical, long-suffering, and magnanimous ("Present Position of Catholics," pp. 373-393, 4th edit.).

W. S. LILLY.

ART. VI.—RECENT WORKS ON ST. AUGUSTINE.

1. *St. Austin, and his Place in the History of Religious Thought.* By W. CUNNINGHAM, B.D. (The Hulsean Lectures, 1885). London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 1886.
2. "The Fathers for English Readers:" *St. Augustine.* By EDWARD L. CUTTS, B.A. London and New York: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
3. *St. Augustine, Melancthon, and Neander.* By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1886.
4. *The Teaching and Influence of St. Augustine.* By JAMES FIELD SPALDING, Rector of Christ Church, Massachusetts. New York. 1886.
5. *Vindiciae Augustinianæ.* By Cardinal NORIS. Paris. 1877.
6. *Veritable clef des ouvrages de St. Augustin, &c.* Par P. MERLIN, S.J. Paris. 1874.
7. *St. Augustine: A Historical Study.* By a Priest of the Congregation of the Mission. Second Edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.

IF we were seeking an example of the strength of prejudice, innate or acquired, against the force of rigid reason, combined with an overwhelming mass of clear, incontrovertible evidence, it would be found in the manner in which Protestant divines approach the study of Catholic history and theology. Whether the new awakening to the importance of these subjects proceeds from a Catholic instinct, that has been quickened from

its dormant state by the interest attaching to modern controversies, or whether it is the result of that latitudinarian spirit which is so characteristic of Protestantism at present, it cannot be denied that the most thoughtful minds in the Protestant communion, rising above the petty and ephemeral works of local and transitory literatures, are concentrating reflection and research on the master minds of the Church, and seeking with fear and hope to reconcile the doctrines found in their writings with the traditional beliefs which a thousand circumstances have made very dear to themselves. This movement unquestionably argues three things: (1) a spirit of liberalism in religion, which is eminently praiseworthy, inasmuch as it seeks information on subjects, which, in past years, the Protestant mind could not rest on without grave scruple; (2) an utter dissatisfaction with the semi-religious, pseudo-philosophical conjectures that have been deluging the book-market these past few years; (3) a craving for some well-defined authority on vexed and perplexing questions, which no living voice, either in the Church of England or kindred communions, either affects or assumes to possess; and which their members will not yet acknowledge to be the peculiar and divinely conferred prerogative, which belongs exclusively to the Catholic Church. It would be well if we could end here; but alas! we must attribute to these timid seekers after truth either a most profound ignorance of the sources whence might be derived a clear, comprehensive view of the authors whose teachings they would reverence, or a disingenuousness in their studies, as if they dreaded the light that is thrown on the great authors by Catholic commentators, and would seize eagerly on any authority, no matter how weak or obscure, that might lend the least sanction to their errors. This is especially true of the study of St. Augustine by Protestant divines. It is notorious that Canon Mozley, one of the ablest teachers of the Church of England in our century, has derived most of the opinions embodied in his work,* which was criticised in this REVIEW, March 1856, from the condemned work of Jansenius; and although later writers, as we shall see, have advanced by "leaps and bounds" from the Calvinistic interpretations of thirty years ago, they still remain in profound ignorance of the vast labours expended by Catholic theologians during fourteen centuries to make plain the meaning of that wonderful Saint and Doctor, who, knowing but little of the Greek language, was endowed with more than Grecian keenness and subtlety; and whose scrupulous precision about every word and phrase, which made him in his last years the unsparing censor of his own works, has

* "The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination." Murray. 1856.

yet not been able to save him from being coerced into the service of sects whose doctrines he would have anathematised.

We shall limit this article to a review of the Protestant works which have lately appeared on this subject ; and, after showing how closely they approach to the teachings of Catholic commentators, we will trace their divergence from Catholic traditions to causes, which, on the supposition of good faith, can easily be removed.

It is not necessary to dwell at all on Mr. Cunningham's Hulsean Lectures, as they have already been fully noticed in the DUBLIN REVIEW, January, 1887, and other Catholic organs ; but, though he examines the Protestant tradition from a rationalistic point of view, we cannot regard his opinions otherwise than as a clear indication of advance towards a right appreciation of St. Augustine. He completely ignores Dr. Mozley, whose works, although written by a professed High Churchman, have been generally regarded as the text-books of the Calvinistic element in the Church of England ; and for this he, Mr. Cunningham, is severely taken to task by a writer, apparently of the Low Church School, in the *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1887.

The little volume, issued from the pen of Mr. Cutts, and under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, would be very admirable, were it not for the two chapters which treat of doctrinal subjects, under the headings, "The Augustinian Theology," and "The Appeal to Rome." The former is simply a series of quotations from Canon Mozley's work : "The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination." In one of the few sentences in which the author ventures on an original remark, he has included within the small compass of four lines as many doctrinal and historical errors as were ever compressed in so limited a space :—

The Augustinian theology [he says] excited little attention in the Eastern Church, which continued to hold the traditional belief.* In the Western Church, though never authoritatively sanctioned, it had a deep and widespread influence, and in the theology of the schoolmen—*e.g.*, of St. Thomas Aquinas, in the Middle Ages. Calvin, with his logical and systematizing French mind, revived it, with certain exaggerations, at the Reformation.

In chapter xxi. p. 201, he falls into a mistake, similar to that

* If Mr. Cutts would consult "St. Augustine contra Julianum" lib. i. Nos. 6, 15, 16, 19, 22, 25, 30; lib. ii. No. 7; lib. vi. No. 70; he would see that there was no difference of belief between the Eastern and Western Churches. Under No. 19, St. Augustine quotes sixteen Greek writers to show how fully he was in union, not only with the West, about which there could be no question, but with the East as well. This was quite conformable to his doctrine ("Opus Imp." iv. 112) that the uniform teaching of the Fathers was final.

already made by Milman, and refuted in the DUBLIN REVIEW of Dec. 1854 (pp. 433, 434, 435). Dean Milman had asserted that Pope Zosimus had made "a rash concession to Pelagianism," and that "he had annulled at one blow all the judgments of his predecessor, Innocent." The Reviewer proves that:—

- (1) Pope Innocent's condemnation of the doctrine taught by Pelagius and Celestius was final.
- (2) His personal sentence on themselves was made dependent on their contumacious maintenance of these doctrines.
- (3) That a full retraction of these doctrines was made on the part of both, conveyed in writing by Pelagius, and in his own person by Celestius, who repaired to Rome for this purpose.
- (4) Therefore, if Zosimus had absolved them, which, as we shall see, St. Augustine's words disprove, Pope Zosimus did merely what Innocent had fully determined to do.

We take up the controversy where the Reviewer has left it, and give Mr. Cutts' own words:—

Zosimus, the bishop of Rome, was won over to believe in the orthodoxy of Celestius, and after having held a Council, at which Celestius disavowed all doctrines which the Roman See had condemned, he wrote a letter of reproof to the Africans, blaming them for listening too readily to charges against good men. The African prelates, assembled in synod at Carthage, asserted their independence of Rome; declared that their condemnation of Celestius must stand till he had clearly retracted his errors; and passed nine canons, which were afterwards generally accepted throughout the Church. . . . The civil power now intervened, probably at the solicitation of the Africans.

It is quite clear that Mr. Cutts has not seen the correspondence that passed between Rome and Africa during the year, March 417–May 418, for which period of time the controversy, at the request of the Africans, was left open. Neither has he read the very remarkable words of St. Augustine on this subject (*contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum*, No. 5; *De peccato originali*, Nos. 7, 8). We give the last reference in which St. Augustine commends the firmness and gentleness of the Pope:—

The venerable Pope, Zosimus, in possession of this declaration (of Celestius), treated with this man, who was puffed up with the pride of false doctrine, as with a madman, who, being gently soothed, might be calmed down; but who was not as yet thought worthy to be absolved from the bonds of excommunication.*

* Hanc ejus prælocutionem, venerabilis Papa, Zosimus, tenens, egit cum homine quem falsa doctrina ventus inflaverat . . . atque ita velut phreneticus, ut requiesceret, tanquam leniter fatus—a vinculis tamen excommunicationis nondum est creditus esse absolvendus.

These words prove that the Africans had no idea whatever that Zosimus had revoked the condemnation of his predecessor Innocent on Pelagius and Celestius. And certainly, it was not at their dictation that he renewed that condemnation. For during the whole year in which the question was left undecided, correspondence was passing from Rome, not only with Africa, but also with Jerusalem, Antioch, and the other churches of the East ; and in the Encyclical in which Zosimus pronounced the final condemnation of the heresiarchs, he quotes not only the African Synods, but also St. John Chrysostom, Paulinus, and others. Moreover, that *Encyclical was issued prior to the Council of Carthage*, whose nine canons, Mr. Cutts thinks, gave the death-blow to Pelagianism ; for that Council did not commence its sittings until the 1st of May 418 ; and the Rescript of Honorius (which was issued, *not at the solicitation of the Africans*, but *in consequence of, and subsequent to, the Papal condemnation*), is dated April 30, 418. The words of Possidius are final on this subject :—

But these bishops (Innocent and Zosimus) of so great a See, having, each in his own time, pointed out those men, and having issued letters to the African Churches of the West, and to the Oriental Churches also, came to the conclusion that these (Pelagian heretics) should be anathematised and avoided by all Catholics. And this judgment of the Catholic Church of God, having been heard and followed by the most pious emperor, Honorius, he ordained that by his own laws as well, they should be condemned and regarded as heretics.*

This writer, also, ignoring all that has been written on the subject of the appeal of Apiarius to Pope Zosimus, repeats the assertion : "That the affair of Apiarius gave occasion to a solemn reassertion of the independence of the African Church, and placed the great name of St. Augustine beside that of Cyprian as the defender of the independence of individual churches against the usurpations of the See of Rome." In trying to prove this assertion, the writer falls into errors of date, and of the sequence of events ; and he suppresses collateral circumstances, which go far to show the obedience of the African Church to Rome, and the perfect union that existed between St. Augustine and the Roman See, as the following facts will show :—

(1) At the Synod of Carthage, opened 1st of May 418, a canon

* At illi tantæ sedis antistites (Innocentius et Zosimus) suis diversis temporibus eosdem notantes, datis literis et ad Africanas occidentis, et ad orientis partis Ecclesias, eos (Pelagianos) anathemandoz et devitandoz ab omnibus Catholicis censuerunt. Et tale de illis Ecclesiæ Dei Catholicæ prolatum judicium, etiam piissimus imperator Honorius, audiens et sequens, suis eos legibus damnatos inter hereticos haberi debere constituit (ch. xviii.).

(the 17th) was enacted, forbidding *priests or any of the inferior clergy* from appealing to any tribunal beyond the sea. (2) St. Augustine went straight from this Synod, accompanied by Alipius and Possidius to Caesarea, "whither necessity led us, arising from an ecclesiastical injunction from the venerable Pope, Zosimus, Bishop of the Apostolic See."* (3) This same year, Apiarius, a priest of Sicca, suspended by his bishop, Urbanus, a disciple of St. Augustine, appealed to Rome, and was absolved by Zosimus. (4) This offended the African bishops, although their new canon was a proof (if instances were wanting, but they are not), that such appeals were usual in Africa. (5) On hearing this, Zosimus sent a legate, Faustinus, to Africa, and Aurelius summoned a council of his province to meet the legate this same year 418. (6) Faustinus set forth the claims of Rome to hear such appeals, citing the general canons of Nicæa, but relying principally on two of Sardica, which were quoted as of Nicæa, as Sardica was the complement of Nicæa. (7) Out of respect for Rome, the assembled prelates wrote to Zosimus to say these canons should be observed, pending an investigation into their authenticity. Meanwhile Zosimus died, December 26, 418, and was succeeded by Boniface, who immediately wrote to the Africans through his legate, April 26, 419. (8) On May 25 of the same year, a Synod of 217 bishops met at Carthage, and again an appeal was made by the legate to the same two canons. The first of these, not being found in the archives of Carthage, Alipius proposed that it be observed, pending further inquiry at Rome, Alexandria, &c. Faustinus objected to any inquiry in the East, as it might give rise to a suspicion that there was disunion amongst the Western Churches. The second canon was then read, and Augustine proposed that this too be observed pending an inquiry; the whole Synod approved of this. A Synodal letter communicated the proceedings of the council to Pope Boniface, and also informed him that Urbanus had obeyed the injunction of Pope Zosimus regarding Apiarius. We have here then, the acceptance of a Papal legate, the acceptance of the decrees of Nicæa and Sardica, the acceptance of the Papal decision by Urbanus, and two Synodal letters to Rome, informing the Pope of the proceedings of the Council. As a further proof that there was not a shadow of disunion between Rome and the African Church, we find Alipius at Rome towards the close of this year, lodged in the Pope's palace, treated most affectionately, and returning to Africa with two Pelagian letters, sent by the Pope

* Quo nos, injuncta nobis a venerabili Papa, Zosimo, Apostolice sedis episcopo, ecclesiastica necessitas traxerat (Ep. 190, No. 1, written in the same year).

to Augustine to be refuted. Augustine wrote the refutation in his "Four Books to Boniface," in which he says: "I have addressed these books to your Holiness, not with a view to teach your Holiness anything, but to have them examined, and, if you should see fit, corrected." Finally, in 424, a few bishops (15) out of a province which contained 160, addressed an expostulation to the Pope, against the action of Faustinus, who imprudently insisted on the restoration of Apiarius after a second suspension and a second appeal; but this expostulation in no wise questioned the right of Rome to hear appeals—it was couched in respectful language, and concluded with the words: "May the Lord God long protect the Pope, and may the Pope pray for the Africans." The subsequent history of the African Church proves that the right of Rome remained unquestioned.*

Dr. Schaff's work affords a remarkable proof of the decline and almost utter disappearance of the Protestant tradition. He is silent on St. Augustine's teaching on the Church, the Sacraments, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Eucharist, Miracles, Papal Supremacy, Vows, Fast and Abstinence, Lent, Confession, Confirmation, Exorcisms, Traditions, and almost every distinctive doctrine of the Catholic Church. He is an Evangelical, and seems to have written with the fixed intention of conveying to his readers the impression that St. Augustine was a co-religionist of his. He makes the singular admission that—

St. Augustine is responsible for many grievous errors of the Roman Church; he anticipated the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, and his ominous words, "Roma locuta est, causa finita est," might almost be quoted in favour of the Vatican decree of Papal Infallibility (p. 98).

Yet he is gently reminded by the *Church Quarterly Review* (July 1887, p. 260) that his projected edition of the Fathers "would look down upon him from their shelves with a certain reproach so long as he continued a member of a sect." Nothing daunted, however, Dr. Schaff tacitly assumes that the Church is the aggregate of all Christian communities, and thus, like so many other teachers, as we shall see, he claims St. Augustine as a co-religionist, and ignores the custom that universally obtained in St. Augustine's time of marking as heretics those who did not belong to the unity of the Church.

Dr. Schaff proposes to bring out in America an English edition of St. Augustine's works. We shall point out a few inconsistencies in his estimate of St. Augustine's teachings later on. Might we ask him to translate afresh a passage which he has

* See Hefele's *Councils*, vol. ii.; *Hist. Study* 193-257.

misinterpreted,* and to correct this misstatement about the convent presided over by St. Augustine's sister?—

On one occasion he (St. Augustine) assured his congregation that he could not easily find better, but had also nowhere found worse, people than in these cloisters (p. 83).

For St. Augustine did not refer to the nuns, but used the words (Epist. 78, No. 9) in reference to a scandal which had taken place in his own house. And might we ask him further to re-examine the statement he makes in p. 93: "They (St. Augustine's Manichaean writings) defend the freedom of the will against fatalism; afterwards he changed his opinion on that subject;" and his repetition of the statement in p. 103, where he discusses the "Augustinian system," without coming to any definite conclusion; for if there be any point in the Saint's teaching better established than another, it is that he never changed his opinion on that particular point? †

The evidence, however, afforded by Mr. Spalding's work in support of our contention is the most valuable, inasmuch as the volume purports to be not a biography, but a critical examination of the writings and influence of St. Augustine. We may fairly presume, therefore, that the author has carefully digested the evidence which has led him to traverse and reject the Protestant tradition. He is of opinion that on all points, except that alone of Papal Supremacy, the Augustinian doctrines are incorporated in the teaching of the Church. He is most candid in his interpretations of St. Augustine's very remarkable sayings on faith and authority, and the canons of Scriptural exegesis; and is almost indignant at the attempted identification of St. Augustine's teachings with those of Luther and Calvin:

Others again, he says, referring to the claims of the sectaries, both in the Church, and in the dissenting bodies, have a more or less mistaken conception of this great Saint and Father—they almost take away his individuality, and identify him in their minds with Luther or Calvin or Jansen; while they think of his teaching as some dreadful notions of predestination, original sin, and eternal punishment. Both these classes need to gain a knowledge of St. Augustine (p. 8). . . .

* "Nam neque in iis precibus quas tibi fudimus, cum offerretur pro eâ sacrificium pretii nostri, jam juxta sepulcrum posito cadavere, priusquam deponeretur, sicut illic fieri solet" (p. 73).

"For, neither in those prayers which we poured forth unto thee, when the Sacrifice of our ransom was offered for her, when now the corpse was by the grave's side, as the manner there is, previous to its being laid therein," &c. &c.

The loose paraphrase of Dr. Schaff runs thus:—"After the corpse had been buried, and the holy Supper celebrated on the grave, according to the custom of the age," &c.

† See DUBLIN REVIEW. March, 1856.

The modern world should never be suffered to forget that what is Lutheran or Calvinistic is not necessarily Augustinian (p. 103). . . . In the reaction of our day from the mischief of so-called Calvinism, we may observe with trained vision both a recoil from a narrowing and base bondage, which God never appointed, and also a desire for a freedom, which is lawlessness and licence.

And alluding to those who think it necessary to reject St. Augustine with Luther and Calvin, he says:—

Nor can we consider the rejection of his teaching anything less than perilous to the best interests of Christianity (p. 106).

These admissions are so novel and important, that we can almost forgive Mr. Spalding for cherishing that pet assumption of the High Churchmen, that the Catholic Church is the aggregate of the Greek Church, the Anglican, and what they are pleased to call the Roman. We have seen how Dr. Schaff makes a similar claim to Catholicity, but is reminded by the *Church Quarterly* that he is a sectary; and Mr. Spalding, as an Episcopalian, speaks of the "Church and the dissenting bodies around us" (p. 8), and again of "the historic Church of Christ, and the outside world of sect and dissent" (p. 105). He apparently forgets that St. Augustine regarded the Donatist *Episcopal* Church as a sect cut off from Catholic union; and whilst he admits that St. Augustine always held the necessity of external organic union with the Church, and not a mere invisible and spiritual connection, and that he also taught the primacy of St. Peter, he seems to think that the Saint regarded unity with Jerusalem and Carthage as indispensable as union with Rome. (p. 44). Mr. Spalding gives two references in support of this contention, "De Baptismo," ii. 2, and "Con. Lit. Petil," ii. 118. The first makes no allusion whatever to the subject. The second runs as follows:—

But even if all Catholics throughout the entire world were such as you most foolishly represent, what has the Chair of the Roman Church done to you, in which Peter sat, and Anastasius now sits; or the See of Jerusalem, which James filled, and John now fills; with whom we are linked in Catholic unity, and from whom you, in wicked fury, have separated yourselves? Why do you call the Apostolic See a chair of pestilence? If it be on account of the men whom you think preachers, and not doers of the law, did our Lord Jesus Christ, on account of the Pharisees of whom He said, "*they speak and do not,*" offer any injury to the chair in which they sat? . . . If you would consider these things, you would not, on account of the men, whom you defame, blaspheme the Apostolic See, with which you do not communicate.*

* Verumtamen. si omnes per totum orbem tales essent, quales vanissime criminariis, Cathedra tibi quid fecit Ecclesia Romanae, in qua Petrus sedet,

This is an *argumentum ad hominem*, addressed to the Donatists, the force of which will be seen when we mention that, like the sectaries of to-day, they maintained that they were not cut off from Catholic unity, merely because they denied certain truths held by the universal Church ; and also objected that no sacrament could be validly administered, nor sacred dignity inherited, by an unworthy minister. They contended, therefore, that the Popes were *traditors*, and therefore not legitimate successors of Peter, since Pope Melchiades had admitted Cæcilian to his communion. St. Augustine answered by asking them to name a single church in Christendom that would acknowledge the orthodoxy of their doctrines, or the justice of their revolt ; just as to-day we challenge English Ritualists to show the validity of their position by an acknowledgment from the Churches of France or Germany that they are in visible union with them. And against the second argument that the unworthiness of a minister invalidates the acts of his ministry, he quotes continually the text (Jer. xvii.), "cursed be the man that trusteth in man," and reminds the faithful that they must rely upon their pastors, not as "men but as ministers of Christ." There is therefore in this passage no equalization of the claims of Jerusalem and Rome as Apostolic Churches. To prove this fanciful theory, Mr. Spalding should show that St. Augustine proved the legitimacy of bishops by a list of the bishops of Jerusalem, similar to that which he gives of the Roman Pontiffs ; and should also prove that St. Augustine ever demanded union with a church not united to Rome as a proof of its incorporation with the mystical body.*

We see, then, that in the latest Protestant writers, the venerated Protestant traditions have been reduced to two points—viz., that St. Augustine was anti-Papal, and that he did not hold the Catholic doctrine of freewill. Dr. Schaff practically abandons the first (p. 98); Mr. Spalding reduces the second to a mere doubt, (pp. 28, 29, 68); Mr. Cunningham asserts both, not, however, in the dogmatic style of Milman and Mozley, but in a hesitating and rationalistic fashion. Whilst, however, we cannot but feel pleased at this wonderful change, it is impossible to close our

et in qua hodie Anastasius sedet; vel Ecclesiæ Jerosolymitanae, in qua Jacobus sedet, et in qua hodie Joannes sedet; quibus nos in Catholica unitate connectimur, et a quibus vos nefario furore separastis? Quare appellas Cathedram pestilentię Cathedram Apostolicam? Si propter homines quos putas legem loqui et non facere, numquid Dominus noster Jesus Christus propter Pharisæos de quibus ait, *dicunt enim, et non faciunt*, Cathedræ in qua sedebant ullam fecit injuriam? . . . Haec, si cogitaretis, non propter homines quos infamatis, blasphemaretis Cathedram Apostolicam, cui non communicatis?

* "Historical Study," pp. 126, 410.

eyes to the fact that in one and all of these books, and in the whole pile of literature which has issued from the Protestant press on this and cognate subjects, the same faults of style and spirit are equally discernible. We think we shall be doing a service to these writers, and, indeed, to Christian literature in general, when we state our reasons for considering these volumes superficial and uncritical. Protestant writers seem to regard St. Augustine's works as written without purpose or unity, a mere magazine of haphazard opinions, capriciously assumed, and quite as capriciously rejected, without the least consideration for consistency of thought, for preserving harmony with the teachings of the Universal Church, or for the consequences that might result to weak intellects from the facile acceptance, and equally facile rejection, of most important articles of faith. From the storehouses of thought which the genius of these great teachers has accumulated, every succeeding generation is quite at liberty to select whatever doctrinal opinions may suit the prevailing religious feeling ; for it is supposed that there is neither unity of purpose nor homogeneous thought in St. Augustine, and what is agreeable may be accepted, and what is unpleasant may be rejected, without the loss of veneration for the august character of the Saint, or for his marvellous intellectual powers, and without being committed to the rest of his philosophical or religious opinions which may not suit present propensities or the temper of the times. This mode of action may be liberal, but it is not logical ; and it proceeds from the groundless assumption, which more than once St. Augustine indignantly repudiated, that the living Church of Christ is an invisible abstract body, consisting only of the just or the elect, without any external indications of its concrete visibility, without any "links of union in the bond of peace" amongst its members, without a visible teacher to direct, or a visible authority to govern, and with no dogmatic definitions to test its living and united from its dead and dissevered members. It may be very well for Protestant students and divines, who apparently take but a literary interest in these matters, and who study the Fathers just to fill up a course of lectures or sermons, to exercise this elective privilege, and to use this mighty sun to light their tiny lamps of learning ; but it implies in our Saint a facility for change, or a dullness of perception, or a fatal eclecticism in these questions of supreme moment, which we would much prefer to attribute to themselves. No one knew better than St. Augustine that there is no room in the Catholic Church for Socratic license of discussion, or for an Academia independent of her councils ; that the body of defined doctrine, the deposit of faith, committed by Christ to His Apostles, and left by them to the Church, can know no change or diminution ;

that within the rigid lines of these doctrines there may be freedom and elasticity enough for controverted opinions and purely scholastic disquisitions ; but that no one from the beginning has tampered with its definite teachings and remained its member. His constant and nervous appeals to tradition and authority, his inflexibility in supporting the unity of the Church against schismatics, and his wonderful clear-sightedness, which, with a kind of natural infallibility, separated the true from the false both in persons and opinions, are sufficient proof of this. Yet writers such as we have quoted see no disrespect whatever to St. Augustine in imputing to him doctrines which they reject as narrow and reactionary ; and they ridicule, whilst they admit, his teaching on subjects so exclusively Catholic as the veneration of relics and the invocation of saints, and triumphantly deny his adhesion to articles of faith, the rejection of which, at any period of the Church's history, would have placed him at once outside her pale. They write of the "Augustinian system" as they write of Platonism or Zenoism, discuss and debate it as a purely literary or philosophical question, reject what they consider untenable, and adopt whatever is concordant with their own views, without the least reflection of the awful bearings of such questions on general Christianity, and the interests of immortal souls. Could anything be farther from the mind of St. Augustine than this ? With all his enthusiasm about the Church, his reverence for her august institutions, his perfect repose in her simple and divine doctrines after his sublime discontent with Platonism, his love for the distinctively Christian teachings, his "ominous" words about the authority of Rome, his tenderness, his mysticism, his ecstasies about God—is there not something irreverent in making him the mere precursor of a sect, in representing him as fallible and inconsistent because independent of Church authority, ignored and suppressed on those points, where beyond all controversy he is at one with the Church, and ignobly lauded whenever an ambiguous expression in the hands of loose and illogical thinkers seems to place him in antagonism to her teachings ? The few examples already quoted will go far to prove this ; but these works abound with such conceits and irreverences. We have already cited Dr. Schaff's very candid admissions about the Saint ; we now quote him with a different purpose. In p. 67 he writes : "The solemnity of the festival was still further heightened by two circumstances—one connected with superstition and relic-worship, the other with the effect of hymns upon the heart." That is, St. Augustine was superstitious, and yielded to the "current belief of that credulous age ;" for Dr. Schaff gives the Saint's own words in a note, from Conf. ix. 7, in which the Saint plainly announces his belief (1) in a vision to St. Ambrose,

by which (2) the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius, martyrs, were discovered incorrupt, through which (3) the fury of a woman was repressed, demoniacs were healed, and sight restored to a blind man ; and to put it beyond doubt, St. Augustine refers to the miracle again (" De Civ. Dei," xxii. 8), as having occurred in the presence of an immense multitude. Yet, with this declaration from so great an authority, Dr. Schaff says sublimely :—

The subject of post-apostolic miracles is involved in inextricable difficulties. Augustine himself is not consistent on this matter. But see Schaff's " Church History."

Again in quoting the words of St. Monica (p. 71), Dr. Schaff in his text translates them :—

Once there was a reason why I should wish to live longer, that I might see you a *believing* Christian before I die ; [but he subjoins in a note] Or more strictly, after the original, Conf. ix., 10, "Christianum Catholicum," a *Catholic* (or orthodox Christian), in distinction not merely from a *Paganus*, but also, and particularly, from a *Christianus hereticus* and *schismaticus*, which Augustine had been.

The translation in the text is not quite ingenuous ; but what will Dr. Schaff say to the *Church Quarterly*, which calls him a schismatic or heretic ; and what exactly made a sectary *then*, when *now*, according to the most recent Protestant theory, the Church consists of the aggregate of those who call themselves by the name of Christ ? And again, whilst translating correctly the touching valediction of St. Monica :—" Tantum illud vos rogo, ut ad Domini altare memineritis mei ubi fueritis ;" * and immediately subjoins :—

This *Thanksgiving* and prayer for the dead can be traced in its innocent form as far back as the second century, and became the fruitful source of the doctrine of Purgatory. Neither Monica nor Augustine grasped the full meaning of St. Paul's assurance that "it is very far better to be with Christ."

But it is tiresome to follow out these presumptuous comments. Dr. Schaff is so exceedingly candid, that on every page we meet historical truths and contradictory and gratuitous assumptions side by side—e.g., St. Augustine was vigorous and masterful, then superstitious and reactionary ; he was a thorough ascetic, yet opposed to the narrow bigotry of monks ; his system is not Calvinistic, but gave birth to the strongest thinkers amongst Jansenists, Huguenots, Calvinists, Puritan Covenanters, and

* "This only I request, that you would remember me at the Altar of the Lord, wherever you be."

Pilgrim Fathers ; he is responsible for many grievous errors in the Church of Rome, yet has also an Evangelical Protestant significance ; he was so scrupulously exact and conscientious that he revised during his last years every line he wrote, but then he became illiberal ; he is the father of scholasticism and mysticism, but is free from the Pharisaical self-righteousness and bigotry which connect themselves so readily with monastic piety ; and Dr. Schaff finally quotes Dr. Bindemann, "one of the best Protestant biographers of St. Augustine," as saying : "The first place amongst the Fathers is due to St. Augustine, and at the time of the Reformers only a Luther was worthy to stand by his side. He forms the mightiest pillar of Roman Catholicism, and the leaders of the Reformation derived from his writings, next to the study of the Holy Scriptures, those principles which gave birth to a new era." And, as if to emphasize the importance of this testimony, Dr. Schaff gives a page of notes, containing the most profane and scurrilous passages from Luther's writings against the Fathers, and very disparaging remarks about St. Augustine himself. And this is not a mere popular work, where loose and incorrect reasoning might be overlooked ; it is a work written for theological students and dedicated to them, and Dr. Schaff is Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

From this illogical and arbitrary treatment of so great a teacher as St. Augustine, it will be easily concluded that these writers' study of St. Augustine is unscientific in method, and opposed to the best canons of criticism. The first fault proceeds from the shifting, unstable, and ill-defined tenets of Protestantism ; the latter from the absence of scientific theological training in their colleges and universities. It has been the fashion for modern liberals to decry and ridicule the old scholastic system of syllogistic reasoning, and the gradual process of thought from definition to proposition. The rejection of the Aristotelian logic, brought about by Bacon and Descartes, has admirably suited the development of those vague and unsubstantial systems which we are asked to accept in room of those religious and philosophical principles which have stood the most rigid tests of twenty centuries ; and its most fatal effect is discernible in the loose and unconnected habits of thought it has generated amongst men who have enjoyed a liberal education. Now the scholastic system cannot be set aside or neglected without grave detriment to habits of exact thought ; and even admitting that it sometimes gave rise to puerile subtleties and distinctions, it cannot be superseded, because absolutely there is no substitute for it. It is necessary in the study of St. Thomas Aquinas, whose system of reasoning is mathematically exact. It is still more necessary in the study

of St. Augustine, who wrote when theological subjects were debated in intermittent controversies, and had not yet been incorporated into a science. Victorinus, a contemporary of St. Augustine's, traces the obscurity of writers to either of three causes: "Vel rei magnitudini, vel doctoris imperitiae, vel auditentis duriæ."* St. Augustine himself admits that some of the subjects he treated were involved in darkness and mystery. In that difficult question of Divine prescience and human freewill, where the Stoic philosophers had to fall back upon Fate, and Cicero denied the foreknowledge of God, the great Christian teacher recognized an apparent antinomy, where human reason might confess itself at fault. In his Epist. (214. No. 6) ad Valentimum, he calls the question of efficacious grace, "difficillimam et paucis intelligibilem," and (cap. 47, de gratia Christi) "ad discernendum difficilem;" and in his fifth sermon, de Verbis Apostoli, when he was preaching on grace, he said, "Habeo propter obscuritatem rerum difficilem disputationem." Yet non-Catholic writers, instead of admitting this difficulty and their own inexperience, attribute their imperfect knowledge, and sometimes very singular misconstructions, of St. Augustine's writings, to the traditional explanations of Protestant historians and commentators. They declare that he was so imbued with Platonic modes of thought that he was essentially a Christian mystic and transcendentalist, to whom the ordinary language of men was quite inadequate to convey the lofty thoughts which filled his mind; that if he had abandoned Platonism as a religion, he was yet unconsciously influenced by it; that therefore there is mystery, and prefiguring, and foreshadowing everywhere to his mind; that even the simplicity of the Gospels concealed for him meanings which never could have occurred to an ordinary mind. Singularly enough, he is accused of excessive subtlety, side by side with this idealism, and that he often attenuates his arguments by distinctions, until they become almost unintelligible. This supposition applies to a very small portion of St. Augustine's writings—viz., the Confessions, the Sixth Book on Music, the work on the Trinity, portions of "The City of God," and some homilies and narrations. It does not apply at all to his controversial works, than which, in language and reasoning, nothing can be more clear to an experienced student. We have no hesitation in admitting of St. Augustine, as of all the early writers, that there are involutions in thought and term in his works which can only be unravelled by scientific methods of criticism. With his wonderful enthusiasm, he was in the habit

* "The greatness of the subject, the inexperience of the teacher, or the indocility of the pupil."

of throwing himself, heart and soul, into those controversies in which from time to time he was involved; and in the heat of battle, his terminology, which was clear enough to his contemporaries, but was not limited by such scientific distinctions as were afterwards made by the schoolmen, became enigmatic to those, in after times, who would not trouble themselves to discover his real thoughts by following the simple method of context and parallelism. Thus he drew a distinction between *certainty* and knowledge ("De Utilitate Cred." xi.; "Retract." i. 14), saying of notorious facts, he was *certain* of them, but did not *know* them, meaning the knowledge of intrinsic evidence, apart from the certitude that comes from human evidence or otherwise. Yet it is clear that this distinction might lead in after times to much misinterpretation. Again ("Enchir." c. 30) he says: "By a bad use of freewill, man has lost himself and it." By freewill, he there means that of our first parents before the Fall—not that of fallen man. In fact, in his whole controversy with the Manichæans, he appears to have used the term indiscriminately of the freedom before and after the Fall, because he had to contend against their assumption that sin arose from a principle of evil, and from natural necessity. He was also fond of using that mode of reasoning, called "*the argumentum ad hominem*", and his favourite method of instruction was that of his master, Plato, by dialogue. It will be easily understood how errors have been attributed to him in this form of argument, which he merely recapitulated in order to refute. And finally, he spoke, under the "Discipline of the Secret," which prevented a full, comprehensive statement of doctrines and practices, and the complete forgetfulness of which has misled Protestants in their attempts to reconcile the practices of their creeds with the customs of the early Church. There was no expression so familiar to the people of Hippo as that used by St. Augustine, "The faithful will understand."

We have stated those difficulties, to which Protestant writers never even advert, as the chief causes of the misinterpretation of the mind of St. Augustine. It is needless to say that they are never brought under the notice of the students of patristic literature in non-Catholic colleges, nor is there the least attempt at scientific examination of Church authorities, whose writings, after all the changes of fourteen centuries, might be fairly presumed to be more involved and intricate in thought and language than the theological writings of to-day. Yet there can be nothing half so certain as that St. Augustine himself had no fear whatever of the absolute conformity of his writings to the general teaching of the Catholic Church. After a most scrupulous and searching examination, made two years before his death—so

severe that he characterizes as " declamation and levity " a simple statement* in his Fourth Book of Confessions—in his controversial writings against the Pelagians he found but two errors to be corrected : (1) that in lib. v. contra Jul. he gave as certain the name of a physician, which he afterwards discovered to be doubtful ; and (2) that in his work, " De Natura et Gratia," following a quotation from Pelagius, he ascribed to Pope Sixtus a book that was edited by Sixtus the Philosopher. And with very clear insight into the future, he makes an almost pathetic appeal against being misunderstood :—

But let those who think that I am in error, reflect again and again, lest perchance they themselves might be led astray. But I acknowledge God to be most merciful to me, inasmuch as I become not only better informed, but more accurate, through the services of those who read my works ; and this I always expect, especially through the Doctors of the Church, if my writings should reach their hands, and they should deign to consider what I have written."†

On which very humble appeal Cardinal Baronius remarks : " The dignified modesty of St. Augustine, and his humility of soul, combined with such admirable submission, show plainly, even if it could not otherwise be understood, that he wrote under the influence of the Divine Spirit ; since God Himself hath testified by His prophet, than on no other than on the humble, gentle, and trembling word, does the Divine influence descend."

Hence it is that we consider that the most valuable chapter in the only Catholic work‡ we can notice in this article, is that where the learned author lays down and exemplifies the rules of criticism which readers of St. Augustine ought to follow, and every one of which the Protestant writers we have mentioned have violated. After laying down the ordinary canons of judging by parallelism and context as internal rules of interpretation, and contemporary circumstances and history as external rules, and having shown by two glaring instances the bad faith of Calvin and Gibbon, the author proceeds to the application :—

Suppose we wish to ascertain what was St. Augustine's doctrine or opinion on some point, how are we to proceed ? If the subject was

* " I said that our souls, being in some sort one, I feared perhaps to die myself."

† Qui vero errare me existimant, etiam atque etiam quæ sunt dicta considerent, ne fortassis ipsi errent. Ego autem, cum per eos qui meos labores legunt, non solum doctior, verum etiam emendatior fio, propitium mihi Deum agnosco, et hoc per Ecclesiæ doctores maxime expecto, si et in ipsorum manus venit, digneturque nosse quod scribo.

‡ " An Historical Study." Dublin : Gill & Son. This little work has been commended as an excellent biography by the Protestant writer in the *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1887.

controverted in his time, and he was engaged in the controversy, we must obviously turn to his controversial writings. If he had no controversy, but wrote a special work on the subject, we must, of course, read that work. If the subject be one of the great fundamental truths, such as the end of man, &c., or again, some vice to be denounced, or some virtue to be encouraged, we must turn to his conferences and sermons. If we want to know his explanation of some text of Scripture, we must consult his Scripture Commentaries. So far there is little need of rule or compass But if our subject be one that was neither controverted in his time, nor specially treated in his works, we must only consult his occasional references to it in his books, sermons, or letters. It is chiefly here that we shall feel the need for the rules of interpretation. For, in such references, a writer is less on his guard in the selection of his words, especially when addressing friends or persons not likely to misunderstand him. We must also keep always in mind that in his public writings and discourses, St. Augustine was subject to the "Discipline of the Secret." Nor, should we forget that some of his writings, indicated by Possidius and himself, have perished, and that others have come down to us in a mutilated state; this will account for many omissions (p. 334).

It may be safely said that this sound sense as well as scientific advice is grossly violated in each of the works we have chosen for criticism. The fault did not arise from defective or unsafe editions, for there are large quotations from very excellent issues of the Saint's works—notably from the Benedictine edition; but there is an absence of any evidence of original research, or even of close reading. In Mr. Cutts' work, for example, the only doctrinal chapter is a reprint of quotations from Canon Mozley's work, "The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination," and one allusion, on quite an indifferent matter, to the valuable work of M. Poujoulat. The author quotes once from Milman, whose testimony is eminently untrustworthy; once or twice from Gibbon, once from Döllinger, and once from Meehler's "Symbolism." Dr. Schaff is worse. Nearly all his quotations are taken from the "Confessions," there is no evidence of more extensive acquaintance with St. Augustine; there is hardly a reference, if we except one to Baur's "Church History," and one, of course, to Gibbon; we are referred very often to Schaff's "Church History," and he dismisses the "Augustinian System" in three pages. Mr. Spalding's is the most scientific work of the three, and is professedly a critical examination into the writings and influence of St. Augustine. But although it shows an intimate knowledge of the Saint's writings, there is not one reference to the Fathers, not one to the numberless Catholic commentators, who for fourteen centuries have been lovingly studying the works of our Saint under circumstances more favourable to scholarship than students of our century can command. Milman and Nean-

der, Mozley and Owen, Trench and Maurice, Owen and Fremantle, and the *Church Quarterly Review*, are quoted largely ; and of these, two at least are mentioned incidentally as supporting the charge of Agnosticism against our Saint (pp. 78-79). Not a word of Cardinals Noris, Berti, Perrone, Tournely, Merlin, &c., who approached this difficult study in a more serious manner, and with far different appreciation of the importance of their task. Not even a word about the philosophers who have long since settled the vexed question of Freewill and Predestination on the lines laid down by the Catholic Church.

Yet, if with such misleading, those writers have found their way through the tangled paths of prejudice almost to the threshold of the Catholic Church, what might we not expect if they would read St. Augustine in the clear light of Catholic comment and history ? If Mr. Spalding is almost able to form a right judgment on that perplexing question of Freewill, can we doubt but that he would have acknowledged St. Augustine's adhesion to the See of Peter, if only he had read generously the overwhelming evidence on that subject ? Not that we are unwise enough to cherish the idea that the most convincing proofs of St. Augustine's attachment to Catholicity would have the least effect on thinkers of this school in leading them to any practical steps towards the truth. The day has gone by when Patristic teaching was regarded as identical with the teaching of the College of Apostles, and when dogmatic belief was considered a necessary condition of union with the mystical body of Christ. The High Church School, in its adoption of the branch theory, has unconsciously co-operated with Broad Church latitudinarianism in breaking down the barriers between Deism and Christian orthodoxy ; for when the motive of faith is denied by rejecting a visible authority, the dogmatic factor in religion is removed, and nothing remains but such vestiges of Christian teachings as sect or conventicle may capriciously approve. But even on the supposition that our opponents admitted the total identity of St. Augustine's teachings with the deposit of doctrine once delivered to the Church, it would by no means follow that they would imitate him in seeking shelter within its fold. Literary research, historical knowledge, keen criticism, even a mind open to receive the truth, are yet very far from that "donum perfectum desursum descendens a Patre luminum," which we call the gift of faith. Calm and even minds have reached the threshold of the Church by patient and laborious investigation, then turned away sadly and for ever. When Dr. Pusey could write as he did about authority,* yet refuse to recognize its existence in a living church, what

* See Notes to translation of "Confessions."

further proof do we need to show that intellectual illumination is not faith ; and that if mental conviction does not always precede conversion, neither is the latter its necessary imperative sequence ? In saying, therefore, that we welcome new workers in that wide field of investigation which the writings of St. Augustine open, we do so because literary labour in so high a sphere of thought must always be productive of good, even though it be not the highest. And surely it is a gain to find at last that our Saint is no longer identified with doctrines which he abhorred, nor quoted in support of creeds he would have detested ; that future generations will be spared the pain of seeing so glorious a name linked with dark, unchristian teachings, that were utterly foreign to his spirit of gentleness and love ; and that we are not likely to hear again of independence of thought, which he would have regarded as riotous license, nor of freedom of opinion, which his fidelity to the Church would have characterized as treason, nor of a system, which he would be the first to condemn, if it condoned sin by the pretext of fatalism, or clashed with the high voice of conscience and the traditions of the Christian Church.

P. A. SHEEHAN.

ART. VII.—“THE QUARTERLY REVIEW” AND THE
CHURCH IN ENGLAND.

The Roman Catholics in England. The Quarterly Review,
January 1888. (Art. II.).

IT is now over fifty years since this REVIEW contained an article upon “The Present State and Prospects of the Anglican Church.” The occasion of this article was a long and very elaborate essay in the *Quarterly Review*, which our Reviewer of 1837 thus introduced to his readers : “With greater eloquence and more extended views, a writer in the last number of the *Quarterly Review* has appealed to the Protestantacy of the Empire.

.... The following passages we are satisfied will command the admiration of all our readers ; and, by their Catholic beauty, will justify the length at which we quote them.”* The main aim of the writer was to show what a national church ought to be, and how far short of his ideal the Protestant Establishment in

* DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1837, p. 495.

this country had ever and confessedly been. Referring to the cathedrals, he said (p. 235) : "When we stand beneath those vast and gloomy columns, and see how few are gathered together, and those, perhaps, the paid ministers of devotion, the thought suggested is, not that religion is a form and its service hypocrisy, but that in all its beauty and all its splendour it is *alien* to the heart of man." And at the same date wrote Dr. Pusey : "Discord and insubordination and irreligion are preying upon the very heart of the country, and Romanism is steadily waiting till she (the Established Church) is weakened by the contest, to recover her members under its dominion." *

With such admissions as these, and their number will be found to be legion by such as care to look up the ecclesiastical history of England during the present century, it seems strange that any person, certainly any writer in the *Quarterly*, should be unprepared for great development in the way of progress and position on the part of the "Roman Catholics in England."

That Dr. Pusey's remarkable prophecy has been verified by facts is clear to most people as noonday—to none probably more clear than to those who, like the *Quarterly Reviewer* of 1888, affect to ignore or explain them away. And this is the simple way in which the present state of things has been brought about. The Establishment proved a failure. When almost alone in the land and triumphant, with the vast resources in wealth and buildings our Catholic forefathers had bequeathed, not to them, but to the Church Catholic, she proved herself utterly unable to play even the respectable rôle of a mere imitation in outward observance. As for care or spiritual provision for the souls of our people, directing their aspirations towards the life to come, sacramental grace and sacerdotal power, so far as the national custodian of all these treasures was concerned, there was an end unto them all; as none more loudly testify than the small but earnest minority at present in the Established Church, who are deluding themselves with the fond notion that she may yet be revivified into a living "branch" of the one great tree of spiritual life. Thus writes the *Quarterly Reviewer* of ecclesiastical affairs in his day. The Church in England would "have been broken into fragments of dissent, both as to its form and the truths which it had to guard, but for a few counteracting influences." Among these, the power of the Spirit of Truth "to keep her in all truth" is not even alluded to. "It has been held together by old hereditary prejudices in favour of the Church of our fathers, by political passions, by local associations, by the natural aristocratic spirit of

* Pusey on Cathedral Establishments, p. 160 (quoted DUBLIN REVIEW, p. 499).

Englishmen," &c., &c.* And his lamentable but truthful conclusion is : " In all this there is very little, or rather nothing, of that loyal, dutiful patriotism to the Church and its parental authority, apart from the authority of its ministers, which is the true spirit of Christianity." † " And men's eyes are open to the fact." " Scarcely any man out of the bosom of the Romish Church now dares to speak as if he were sure that he is right." ‡

This being the common feeling and the common admission amongst those who thought much of the Church, how could they fail to turn their eyes first, and later on their steps, to the "city erected on a hill," to the pillar and groundwork of Truth ? The Establishment stood revealed in its true poverty and nakedness. It was a heresy, a schism ; the first great, and from a worldly point of view the only successful, kind of dissent. The inherent weakness of her nature had become manifest in time. St. Ephrem, we believe, had branded schismatics as a class who " dared not anathematize ; " and upon the authority of the *Quarterly* we have it, that " scarcely any man out of the bosom of the Romish Church now dares to speak as if he were sure that he is right." In spite, however, of the sad pass to which things had confessedly come, men need not despair. The one old true Church is there still confronting the usurper. And with the truth in which the Spirit of God ever preserves her, she shows forth to the world the first mark of her infallible mission ; she asserts, as the one true Church is bound to assert, and as the Catholic—the Roman Catholic—Church alone in the world has dared, and does dare, to assert, that within her pale alone is salvation to be found. What marvel, then, that the contest has brought things to their present acknowledged position ? That Dr. Pusey's prognostications have come undoubtedly to pass ? And that " there is still disquiet felt in many quarters at the progress of the Roman body in England ? " §

Good god.

The ill-concealed aim of the writer just quoted is to allay this "disquiet." And to effect his purpose with security, he bears himself throughout the task in hand with the lofty air of one who is so thoroughly alive to the folly of the said "disquiet," that he can afford to be generous in his concessions when in close quarters with the case. It is a clever attempt to pooh-pooh the whole question, or at least to incite people to try and do so. And with an air of being all things to all men, weak with the weak, fearful with those that fear, rather than with the slightest misgiving as to the contents of his brief, he condescends to run over in an offhand, desultory way a few points bearing upon the question.

* DUBLIN REVIEW, 1837, pp. 500-1.

§ The Quarterly Review, January 1888, p. 32.

+ Ibid.

‡ p. 504.

And all comes out in the end clearly enough and just to his mind : "the facts we have here marshalled," prove failure all along the line. Good old English Protestancy need not be alarmed : all that was reprehensible or shortcoming in the Establishment has "disappeared in the process of Church revival in England, which has silenced objections by removing abuses and defects ;" * and the "disquiet" as to Catholicism is groundless: *trepidaverunt timore ubi non erat timor.*†

Nevertheless, this essay, with all its jaunty and affected absence of gravity, is one that has its serious aspect. For it is an insidious attack upon the only English portion of the one true Church of God ; a libel upon the spiritual Bride of Our Lord ; and the most recent attempt to hold souls back in schism, whose hearts are yearning for the truth, and whose eyes have long been turned with longing to the sole teacher of divine truth. And hence, without irreverence we may compare the fear that underlies it to that of Our Lord's own enemies. For there are those among the ministers of the Church by law established, who would fain take some step to assail the position and put a stop to the progress of Catholicity in this country. Their predecessors complained one to another : " What do we, for this man doth many miracles ? If we let him alone so, all will believe in him, and the Romans will come, and take away our place and nation."‡ And so the leaders of the religion that robbed, and by secular violence beat down, Catholicity, take counsel, as we read in the reports of Church congresses and convocations, among themselves, and seldom fail to keep alive the remnant of anti-Popery passion by adroit hints as to the danger *our* nationalism is encountering. "Do you not see," they continue, "that we prevail nothing ? Behold the whole world is gone after him."§ And so on, and so on. " But one of them said to them, ' You know nothing.' || And Caiphas forthwith propounded the scheme which was to put everything in its proper place. In the same spirit, some modern Caiphas intervenes, and plainly tells his fellows : " You know nothing ;" and in the pages of the *Quarterly Review* tells the story which has so thoroughly brought conviction to his own mind, that its mere narration must have a like influence upon every other sensible man. His style throughout, too, gives him a certain advantage. For the most innocent of aggrieved men is somewhat powerless when he is attacked by innuendoes, sneers, sarcasm, and all that species of neatly devised rudeness—"the shrug, the hum, or ha." Hence in personal matters people of plain sense and some strength of mind usually let the thing pass.

* *The Quarterly Review*, January 1888, p. 62.

‡ St. John xi. 47-8.

§ *Ibid.* xii. 19.

† Psalm xiii.

|| *Ibid.* xi. 40.

Time will, they consider, set all pretty well to rights. The aggressor, whose intellectual livelihood is aggression, must pass on to some one of a more combative turn, and will sooner or later meet his match, as did the boor in the fable, who had hit *Aesop* with a stone :

The silence often of pure innocence
Persuades, when speaking fails. *

But when it comes to insidious underminings of the status of God's Church in these realms, to an effort to divert men's minds from "the city seated on the hill;" the cause of truth, zeal for our country's conversion, however much the *Quarterly Reviewer* may ridicule such aspirations and vainly strive to prove them baseless, impel one to stretch forth the hand and join in tearing away utterly and entirely the remnants of the veil of prejudice that has been hanging, alas! too long, between Englishmen's eyes and the claims of the Catholic Church.

We must refrain, however, from permitting our attention to be too exclusively fixed upon the many particulars adduced by the Reviewer, and invested with an importance by no means their due. At the outset it may be conceded that in many details he is rather unusually remarkable for a petty species of accuracy. And what is more, he is quite aware of this and of its desired and probable effect. Yet he has the naïveté to pose as one studiously unostentatious. He would carry his reader on with a careless ease and a treacherous pleasantry to absolute and unhesitating confidence in his honesty, and so beguile him into acceptance without question, doubt or misgiving, not only of his allegations and conclusions, but above and beyond all of his insinuations :

This honest creature, doubtless
Sees and knows more, much more, than he unfolds. †

And it is against this "much more," insinuated or assumed more frequently than directly expressed, that the candid reader must be on his guard. It is with this we have to contend : always a difficult task, but one in which the difficulty presses with extraordinary unfairness, when the author cunningly warns us against himself: begs us not make too much of this or that adduced fact, and so smuggles in that which is often no fact *at all*: cautions us against drawing too stringent a conclusion, and so dexterously hides the bold but utter irrelevancy of the one he with this charming affectation of strict impartiality strives to establish. Here are two instances of his manner. In the first, he is working out a problem which has for its foregone solution the inconsider-

* "A Winter's Tale."

† "Othello."

able English element in the Catholic body in England. He turns to our "Catholic Directory" for facts. And writes:—

A perusal of the roll of Priests of Great Britain in the "Catholic Directory" shows an enormous percentage of Irish and foreign names, attesting their exotic character. The letter O is of course not a fair one to take as an average example, but none the less is it noticeable that there are only twelve presumably English surnames in the hundred and thirty classed under it. The letter R is a much more favourable one, but of the hundred and sixteen names under it, forty are certainly Irish or foreign, and in all probability as many more, whose nationality is not indicated by their forms (p. 48).

Now, a fair-minded investigator, guided by the principles ostentatiously and with cunning prepose propounded by himself at the outset—that "*a priori* considerations go for little towards a solution," and that "the inductive and comparative method of inquiry alone can lead to trustworthy conclusions" (p. 33)—such an investigator would have let the letter O completely alone. He would not merely have admitted that it was an unfair one for average, but for *all* practical purposes; much less would he, after such admission, have used it for any purpose that savoured of an average consideration. Yet this is precisely what the Reviewer does. He, of course, knows as well as any one that to meet "a presumably English surname" commencing with an O is a matter of extremest rarity, whereas an Irish or Scotch name so commencing is a matter of most recurrent frequency. And hence his only logical deduction from the number of names commencing with O should have been that this letter makes directly against his thesis. There are actually under it no less than a dozen "presumably English surnames." Yet this is how he words this conclusion: "But none the less is it noticeable that there are only twelve presumably English surnames in the hundred and thirty classed under it" (p. 48). Relying, of course, upon ninety-nine confiding readers out of a hundred never stopping to consider that one such surname out of ten is far more than might have been anticipated.

But this way of his comes out into higher relief when he deals with "a much more favourable letter"—R. And, to begin with, let the reader notice how one assumption is adroitly made the basis of another. O having been characterized as "unfair for average example," whereas it was unfair for any and every example, R, in comparison, would be readily admitted as differing from it in this, that deductions founded upon it would be more reliable, and hence it might be described as a fair letter for average example, and more favourable to the cause of truth. Yet the context makes it out to be "more favourable" to the Reviewer's opponents, and hence predisposes his readers to magnify

any conclusion that favours his view, and to minimize any that turns out adverse to it. But to a close observer the reason of all this discovers itself. To fall in with and confirm the Reviewer's dictum as to the English element forming but one-third of the entire Catholic population (p. 35), it is obvious that the whole number of priests with surnames commencing with R should be but one-third of the whole number. This whole number he puts (roughly) at one hundred and twenty ; so "the presumably English surnames" should amount to forty. Yet here is his own acknowledgment, his own conclusion : "Forty are either Irish or foreign" (p. 41). And this in face of, and as a proof of, his own discovery that "a perusal of the roll of priests of Great Britain in the 'Catholic Directory' shows an enormous percentage of Irish and foreign names, attesting their exotic character" (*Ibid.*). Of course, amongst ourselves, we Catholics can readily see and understand that this letter test should not have been resorted to. The Reviewer's utter ignorance of us and our ways and history could alone have led him to introduce it. In the first place, the position of the great bulk of our Catholic immigrants was such, by reason of the poverty that drove them hither, that few comparatively of their children found their way to the priesthood. In the second, amongst the more settled and indigenous portion of our body, the greater number of Church students did not, for many years, proceed from our larger towns missions. And it was in these that the Irish and foreign element prevailed. One by one they were sent to college from small, isolated English country congregations, where the good old missioner picked out his most docile and promising altar-boy, and out of his own modest savings, aided by the squire and a few of his parishioners, started the future cleric upon his educational career.

There is another and more important instance of this specious, but most fallacious and unfair, method of reasoning farther on. The Reviewer takes up the published statistics of crime, or rather he professes so to do, but in reality does nothing of the kind, except in regard to Canada and the United States, with which countries we have, of course, nothing in the world to do. The question in hand is England, and "The Roman Catholics in England." And it bears a very suspicious look that, instead of keeping steadily to this one point, he deserts it at the very outset, and so betakes himself to the New World for what it is thus very apparent he cannot find to his satisfaction in the Old. Any statistics bearing upon crime among the "Roman Catholics in England" would have helped, or not helped, him in his attack upon us. No one could have questioned the right of such testimony on whichever side it might lie. And as such an unmistakably hostile critic abandons the subject as singularly unfertile

in results that would chime in with his preconceived we might fairly apply the ordinary legal maxim to this portion of his contention against us: *De non apparentibus et de non existentibus eadem est ratio.*

Considering, however, the poverty of the vast majority of those Irish Catholics who flocked for many years to our Western shores, and the difficulty, mainly owing to this poverty, of giving their children a religious education, one might have expected to find a larger proportion of criminals calling themselves Catholics than others. Indeed, upon the face of the thing, we were quite prepared, at sight of the figures with which our Reviewer's page (60) bristled, to yield somewhat upon this question of facts, and had set ourselves to take the sting out of the reproach by a few words upon the abject condition of the bulk of our poor.

Luckily, however, it occurred to us that the Reviewer was our Reviewer of the *Quarterly* still, and that just one more serious blunder might manifest itself upon a careful examination of his statistics. The American and Canadian figures so abundantly quoted on the one hand, and the utter absence of any figures of any authority in reference to the state of crime in England: the magniloquent assertion as to "the entire failure of the Roman Catholic Church in the function of moral guidance" (p. 61), struck us as being singularly of a piece with antecedent "inductive and comparative methods of inquiry;" and seemed to indicate that a little close examination of his statements would exhibit this dextrous gentleman in the same light-handed career as heretofore. And so it proved. The only figures he gives are those which indicate our numbers in relation to the whole population. This has, of course, to be minimized in order to set off the terrible excess of the percentage of criminals. So he puts us at "4·13 per cent. of the whole population" (p. 60). But having admitted (p. 35) that we are in round numbers about a million and a half, a reference to Whitaker's Almanac, or to any other such popular and accessible volume, would have enabled him to discover that this number is over 6 per cent. "of the whole population." Hence, when he concludes (p. 60) that "it would be reasonable to look for so low a ratio as 3 per cent. of Roman Catholic prisoners," he makes the evident and simple mistake of reducing the criminals we ought to be credited with by one-half. Beyond this one item, he abstains from all quotation, and judiciously lets the published returns of England and Ireland completely alone. And as these could not well be handled too often in the usual fashion without risk of detection by even casual or partial readers, he hies him off to the New World, and works away with a will at their returns. Statistics which have nothing to do with the matter in hand he clearly

prefers to none at all, or to such as are glaringly adverse. We prefer, however, to stand a little longer by our text, and to take an independent dip into these terrible and tell-tale figures, which the Reviewer so rashly consulted and so rapidly deserted. His hurried retreat from them under cover of America and Canada makes us hopeful as to results of a thorough and honest examination of them.

And it turns out precisely as we had anticipated. Whitaker and Hazell for the year 1888 reveal to us that the latest returns give for non-Catholic England some 45,000 indictable offences (*i.e.*, crimes of a more serious nature) as against 7000 in Catholic Ireland. Whereas, the proportion between the two populations would lead us to expect 9000. As to minor offences, under the heading of summary proceedings, the proportion is against Ireland; for her numbers are 200,000 as against 600,000 in England. Her proper figure should have been but 120,000. But the same authorities inform us that nearly three-fourths of these offences were so trivial that they were punished simply by a fine. For, frequently in the comparison, this essential point is lost sight of. It is not so much the number of offences that place a nation high or low in the scale of morality as the quality of them. And it is mainly this quality combined with quantity that indicates the direction to cast our eyes, if we wish to see a Church that fails "in the function of moral guidance."

But it is time to return to the position of "the Roman Catholics in England." Position is a compound of many ingredients. Territorial and other sources of wealth; literary undertakings and successes; general culture; the lead in social, political, or any other prominent public capacity; legitimate increase in numbers; good round numbers, even if but stationary; extraneous additions; all these with many other items combine to form or give or increase what we call and understand by position to any religious body; or, for the matter of that, to any body of persons whatsoever. The *Quarterly Reviewer* confines himself rather too exclusively to numbers, and is extremely unfair in his treatment of them. Indeed, our numbers and our converts are the only two items with which he deals at any length, and consequently with an elaborate inaccuracy. But as he touches upon many others indirectly and *en passant*, we must be similarly discursive in our attempt to meet and expose him, having usually but to mention facts patent to every thinking man at all conversant with the religious history of our times.

And, as already intimated, there is no necessity to dispute his figures, useless where their contradictory nature compels us to make a choice between two or more sets. For many of his statistics, as they first appear, and previous to his manipulation of

them, are derived from unexceptionable sources. He is unhappy in blending these with results of historical study, as this puts in no respectable appearance until *The Catholic Directory*, *The Month*, and *The Tablet* yield up their terrible secrets to his resolute research. For these are "publications which the general public never see" (p. 52). The Reviewer quotes an increase in the Catholic priesthood from 250 in 1596 to 780 in 1635 (p. 33). We question if the Reviewer would have conceded such an increase, had he not for the nonce been bent upon proving to anxious Protestants that such upward movements as the great Oxford secession are but spasmodically normal. They have occurred before, and the conversion of England remained as far off as ever. Our own time has witnessed the most remarkable of them. They may, probably they will, occur again ; but with the same futile result. They will come and go, and leave England unconverted still. Especially would he have hesitated to admit of such an increase had he foreseen that a few pages farther on it would suit him to take up precisely a contradictory position, and admit that "very little success was achieved by the Roman missionaries in the reign of Elizabeth and James I." (p. 35).

But as we were set up for a purpose, so when the thesis requires it we must be let down, and so suddenly that even the Reviewer confesses the retrogression to be unaccountable. Nevertheless, justice compels him to give the figures. Justice, we mean, to the end in view—to wit, a sedative to agitated Protestant nerves. Our numbers are then set forth as in 1746 having fallen to 56,635 laymen, ministered to by 322 priests (p. 33). The inference is plain. Action is inevitably followed by reaction : movement upwards by movement downwards ; or, to come to troublesome particulars, the Oxford secession of 1840–1851—"stampede," as with ill-concealed irritation he terms it—has already been succeeded by "leakage" among the co-religionists of the seceders. Nay, far from yielding to despondency, the Protestant public has cause to make merry over a victory : a victory gained less by the exertions of the Establishment than contributed by the folly of her opponents. Here is the passage, and it is certainly amusing ; for in spite of his having penetrated into literary lairs "which the general public never see," the Reviewer is utterly unconscious of the fact that the Jesuits had no more to do with the matter than the editor of his own *Quarterly*. "If the Jesuits had but waited a few years, it is quite conceivable that the stampede which followed upon the Gorham Judgment, might have been repeated on a far larger scale under the still more serious provocation of the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, intended to enforce the Privy Council findings in the Mackonochie and

Purchas cases, and to drive the advanced High Church school out of the Church of England" (p. 45).

Happily, we can now come to closer quarters with this critic; for once he quotes and sticks to figures that can be dealt with. Fastening upon some surmises of a writer in *The Month* for July 1885, he gathers from him that the Catholic population of Great Britain in 1841 was 800,000. To this number he adds a percentage of his own. Then comes another estimate that our influx from Ireland was 780,000. Finally, that 280,000 must be added, as representing the number of children born of these Irish parents. The sum total works out into a number that, if correct, would be all that the writer required. For it would point inevitably to a decadence. We ought at the present moment, assuming an increase of Catholics proportionate to the general increase of the population of the kingdom, to number nearly two millions and a half. In exact figures, 2,360,000. And yet no "rational calculation" puts us down as, at the highest, more than one million and a half. In exact figures, 1,354,000. We are a million to the bad. Here is his table:—

Roman Catholic population in 1841	800,000
Increase at 62 per cent.	500,000
Irish-born residents.	780,000
Children of Irish-born residents	280,000
Total	2,360,000

We will take each item and reduce it to its proper proportions, aided by, and in some instances depending upon, previous figures of the Reviewer.

Roman Catholic Population in 1841—800,000. This statement on the part of the *The Month* must have proved quite a godsend, but it looks as though the Reviewer had not met with it until after he had penned pp. 33 and 34 of his article, where the real truth comes out. He there tells us that from a report to Propaganda in 1804—that is, thirty-seven years previously to 1841—the Northern District, in which an immense increase had taken place, numbered 50,000, and, ten years later on, the London District under 70,000. Putting the increase in the North during these ten years at the large number of 20,000, we have, twenty-seven years prior to 1841, the number of Catholics in the two most Catholic districts at 140,000. The two remaining districts had probably not 60,000 between them. Hence, at the outside, and including large immigrations from Ireland even in those days, we cannot allow that the 200,000 in 1825 had reached more than 500,000 in 1841. And of these probably half, or say 200,000, were Irish.

Increase at 62 per cent. (that being the rate of increase of the general population)—500,000. This number the Reviewer arrives at easily enough. Sixty-two per cent. upon 800,000 comes, in round numbers, to about what he has set down—viz., 500,000. But first of all we must insist on the percentage being taken upon our estimate, which is based mainly upon his figures (pp. 33 and 34), and not upon those of the article in *The Month*. This estimate, and it was a most liberal one, gives us but 500,000 Catholics to begin with. But farther: before the percentage of increase is taken, we must subtract the 200,000 Irish, who belong to the next item, and whose increase is included in the one that follows that. Instead, therefore, of 500,000 being set down as our increase, the figures should be 62 per cent. upon 300,000 only—say 180,000.

Irish-born Residents—780,000. Here again we are more or less at one with the Reviewer as regards numbers, but with the Reviewer of p. 35. He there tells us, and we are disposed to agree with him, that 80 per cent. only of the census returns of Irish domiciled in England were Catholics. So, to begin with, we must—if merely for the pleasure of coinciding with him—knock off 150,000 from his estimates (p. 52). Then, again, these Irish-born residents must not be counted twice—*i.e.*, first of all in our Catholic population in 1841, and now in the Irish-born residents. We must again therefore strike off, and this time to the tune of 200,000, our estimated number of Irish in our Catholic population. Thus, then, we have Irish residents reduced to 430,000.

Children of Irish-born Residents—280,000. Here we can only subtract 20 per cent. of these children, as a set-off against the incorrect cent. per cent. of p. 52, in place of the more correct 80 per cent. of p. 35 in regard to the parents. That would justify a reduction of the 280,000 to 230,000. So here is our table in the same number of lines with his:—

Catholic population in 1841	500,000
Increase at 62 per cent.	180,000
Irish-born residents (since 1841) . . .	430,000
Children of all Irish-born residents . .	230,000
<hr/>	
Total	1,340,000

These figures, which are for the most part those of the Reviewer himself in the earlier portion of his article, bring us out precisely at the point we should, it is here contended, estimate our numbers. And against this estimate he has nothing of weight to advance when directly at work in the way of reducing them. Indeed, he accepts it, but with the rider that it ought to be one million more

And yet this figure is only fairly reached by conceding that, apart from the Irish and foreign influx, the Catholics of England have increased at the same extraordinary rate as the general population of the kingdom.

As to our losses, called "leakages," there is so much to be said, and that in our humble judgment needs saying, that we purpose dealing with them separately in a subsequent paper. Two remarks in connection with them are alone necessary for our present purpose.

In the first place, it is clear that in spite of our losses we have kept pace with the general population. And if we examine the way this grand result has been obtained, we gain an insight into one of the causes of improvement in our position. For the leakage is from below; our additions are at the top. Our losses are mainly among the poor and poverty-stricken, and hence too frequently from among the classes which furnish criminal and disreputable specimens. True enough, that each of these poor souls was as dear to the Church and the Sacred Heart as that of the wealthiest or most intellectual convert brought by God's mercy within the fold. But this is not the point. We are just now on the question of position. This the Reviewer has striven pertinaciously to minimize; and, in opposition to him, our endeavour is to account for the existence of what he tacitly admits, or the article under notice would never have been written. Now, position is strengthened and amplified by wealth, by learning, by noble blood. And these converts of power and consideration have certainly replaced others, which have too often, alas! depressed and injured rather than elevated the position of Catholics in England.

In the second place, the worst is over. Figures quoted by the Reviewer (p. 31) prove this to demonstration. A remedy has for some time—that is, since 1870—been steadily applied to the terrible canker which had eaten its way into our body corporate. In 1850 our school children, or rather the children in Catholic schools, numbered but 24,000; in 1888, there are 280,000. It is to the element of compulsion in the Education Act of 1870 that we owe this astonishing improvement. There is no gainsaying it, we Catholics have derived and are deriving more benefit from these compulsory clauses than any other religious body. And simply for the reason that the great poverty of our people was an irresistible barrier to regular attendance at schools on the part of the children. Practically, we may happily regard the main source of "leakage" as closed for ever.

It is time for us now to deal with the convert question, for to this our critic devotes his bitterest and most irritated attention. And it is here that we meet with the most astounding piece of argumentation in the whole of his performance.

He commences by concluding without any premisses that the old Catholic element is too insignificant for notice. "An inquiry, then, into the later fortunes of the Anglo-Roman communion is, for all practical purposes, an inquiry into the annals of the convert element only" (p. 42). So one other step alone is necessary for our annihilation. The convert element must be minimized, and the old Catholic element kept well out of sight during the process. The published list of the former contains some 3000 names; but "there are names inserted which have no business there, and some names of little children are set down as though they were adults. But no name has been left out that could be got hold of, and the humblest claim to social position, such as kinship to an attorney, has been held sufficient for admission to the honours of the list." Without any explanation as to the process by which he cuts down this 3000 to 1900, suffice it to say that he does it: and these are the items that compose that figure. Our converts "consisted in 1878 of 335 clergymen, 765 laymen, and 716 ladies." "Since that time some ten or a dozen more clergymen have seceded, and perhaps as many lay folks as will bring up the total clergy and laity to 1900, about as many as could be got into the one church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields" (p. 43). In other words, our number of converts in this year of grace 1888 stands thus: previous to 1878, clergy 335 ladies 716; from 1878 to 1888, clergy 12, laity 72, total 1900. That is, some eight and a half individuals received into the Church throughout England per annum during the past ten years, against some 40 per annum during the previous fifty years. A decided falling off from even the insignificant increase that preceded it; and hence much solace to every good Protestant who will but look carefully into the matter and not be frightened off by silly rumours. For certainly eight and a half converts per annum for the last ten years—throughout the whole of England (not each Catholic parish in the country)—is certainly nothing to boast of on our part. The serious nature of this state of things we cannot, however, stop to consider; but must hie us on whithersoever our impulsive Reviewer pleases to lead us.

All told then, high and low, simple and gentle, our converts number—supposing all the converted to be still in the flesh—but 1900, and the lists "are entirely free from under-statement." And we have been previously informed that "an inquiry into the later fortunes of the Anglo-Roman communion is, for all practical purposes, an inquiry into the annals of the convert element only." But (pp. 35 and 53) he sets down the gross Catholic population at 1,360,000: a million, it is true, to the bad; but still the grand figure of 1,360,000. So, putting the two elements, that is the old Catholic and the convert side by side, as the Reviewer is very

careful not to do, we have his own solemn conclusion, or rather statement, though he does introduce it, and for a purpose, with the inferential then, that in estimating the position of a body numbering 1,360,000 we may limit our inquiry to 1900 of its members!

We have italicized the words—*for all practical purposes*, which the Reviewer smuggles in here under cover of the one point in the inquiry as to the “later fortunes of the Anglo-Roman communion,” which we should not have contested—namely, the intellectual superiority and higher culture of the majority of our converts. In brief, his remarkable thesis was this: the converts had certainly the better of the old Catholics as regards culture; hence to annihilate the old Catholics I must uphold this convert element. Its turn will soon follow; the disparity between 1900 and nearly a million and a half must be kept well out of sight, the vastly superior intellectual status of the 1900 ministering well to the illusion, until men can be got to look upon the convert element as representative of the whole Catholic body: “for all practical purposes” can then be adroitly introduced, and become a little later on the major premiss, containing, and yielding up at the touch of the Reviewer’s logical wand, the true “position of the Roman Catholics in England.”

The only attempt at anything savouring of proof for this astounding conclusion that the convert minority of 1900 may “for all practical purposes” be substituted in an inquiry into the position and state of “the Roman Catholics in England” for the majority, numbering by the Reviewer’s own admission 1,360,000, we find in one of his accounts of the Catholic clergy (p. 32). We say advisedly one of his accounts, because he gives another and a contradictory one later on (p. 45). But at p. 32 he is bent upon extolling the convert element for his “all practical purposes” conclusion; and so the old Catholic element, notably the clerical portion of it, must be made light of and brought into contempt. Hence he describes them as being “out of touch with the nation.”* “They did not understand, and could not make allowance for, English thoughts and habits.” At p. 45, however, the converts’ turn for annihilation has come, and so there we find the old Catholic clergy restored to their place of esteem. They are—of course, in comparison with these odious converts—“moderate, robust, and manly, free from sentimentality and hysterics, and commonly so from bigotry; so that on the whole, if they did nothing else, they lived on friendly terms with

* This favourite phrase of the Reviewer’s is not reserved exclusively for us. Except, perhaps, in Germany, we are informed (p. 49), “the average Roman Catholic clergyman everywhere . . . is entirely out of touch with the educated laity.”

their Anglican neighbours and taught wholesome morality in an old-fashioned way."

And we may pause a moment here just to notice the frequent practice with our Reviewer of thus saying for a set, though latent, purpose precisely the opposite in one page to what he has said in another. Here are a couple more from among several instances.

He informs us (p. 41) that "there is no doubt that the accession of these recruits to the Roman cause had much to do with the setting-up of the new Anglo-Roman hierarchy in 1850." Upon the same subject—the re-establishment of the hierarchy, he tells us (p. 34) that "the change to the present hierarchical system of a province, with one archbishop and twelve (later on fourteen) suffragans, is one which had been contemplated from the first, and was under special consideration at Rome from 1840 to 1847, when Letters-Apostolic and briefs creating dioceses and nominating their bishops were actually drawn up, but never published. The disturbances of 1848 delayed fresh proceedings till September 29, 1850, when the Letters-Apostolic were issued establishing the new hierarchy."

In the next instance we are not put to the trouble of hunting backwards or forwards to other pages for the refutation of his statements. He is good enough to supply the obvious answer consecutively and in his next sentence. "On the broadest survey of the situation," he says (p. 51) "the fact is simply that fifty years ago Roman Catholics constituted nearly one-third of the *United Kingdom*, and now are reduced to one-seventh." At first sight a most lamentable decrease this. But observe that he has now, and manifestly for the purpose of establishing this frightful decadence in our position, substituted "the *United Kingdom*" (which we have italicized) for England: and thrusting aside the fact that his inquiry concerns "the Roman Catholics in England" alone, he dishonestly introduces Ireland. Now, in Ireland there has been a great and decided decrease in the number of Catholics, simply and solely because there has been a great and decided decrease of general population. As he himself goes on most fatuously and, from his own standpoint, most inconsistently to remark: "Of course this is almost entirely due to the great diminution of the population of Ireland, which has continued to go back ever since 1846." Decidedly, of course; and he ought in all honesty to have gone a step farther in his unaccountable candour, and concluded against the justice or propriety of introducing "the *United Kingdom*" at all into the question that admittedly was to affect England alone: but that was clearly beside his real purpose, which was not to inform the ignorant, but to console the afflicted and reassure the anxious.

Put we must return to the use he makes of our converts "for all practical purposes." Narrowing the comparison to a contrast between the older Catholic clergy and the *clerical* converts, he says that these latter were "possessed of a wider and more liberal culture, and, above all, had necessarily become acquainted with two sides of the questions between Rome and England, while the seminary clergy have never been permitted to know more than one" (p. 46). This being so, and some little trepidation naturally arising therefrom to nervous Protestants, the Reviewer lapses into prophecy for their tranquillization. True this high culture and the rest, on the part of the clerical element in the 1900, are sources of power which might at first sight make members of the Establishment quiver; but when this superiority to the old Catholic clergy is admitted, the worst is over. Brighter days are in store. For—

—as the older convert clergy rapidly die out [and note, gentle reader, the intense comfort in this "rapidly"], there are no means of supplying their place, for the new converts, as already mentioned, are both scanty in number and of exceedingly poor quality, so that the tone and level of the Anglo-Roman clergy are, from the social and intellectual standpoint, steadily deteriorating, and they are becoming [we tremble as we copy his sentences] even less in touch with the nation than heretofore. The authorities of the Roman Church here are fully alive to the seriousness and imminence of this peril, but are unable to devise any means of averting it (p. 58).

True, a second chance was given us of a secession "on a far larger scale under the still more serious provocation of the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, intended (*sic*) to drive the advanced High Church school out of the Church of England" (p. 45); but "the door had been shut and barred by the Infallibility dogma," which was one of those Vatican decrees of 1870, which "every man competent to form an intelligent opinion on the matter" (not one of which eligible stamp of course was to be found among the upwards of 200,000,000 Catholics who accepted them) "knows to be absolutely incapable of honest defence." So the grand opportunity of another high-cultured 1900 to leaven, and "for all practical purposes" represent, our 1,360,000 was for ever lost!

But now comes the other side of the picture. The convert element has been extolled, the old Catholic element vilified, for the purpose of establishing the position that these 1900 should for "all practical purposes" alone be considered in "an inquiry into the later fortunes of the Anglo-Roman communion" (p. 41). As the potter his mould and the founder his cast, the Reviewer proceeds to break up and scatter every remnant of his models the moment he has done with them. Having served by way of con-

trust to expose the insignificance and utter incapability of persons so "out of touch with the nation" as the old "foreign-bred"—as he maliciously styles them—clergy, the convert element must be exposed in its true unvarnished colours. Yet their fate and ultimate failure might not have been so pronounced as it subsequently proved to be. Had they not yielded—"bowed to the usual law of reaction," as he characterizes their conduct—they might have retained their previous advantage of being "in touch with the nation," and mighty strides made in advance. Here was a grand opening for them, a great opportunity that might never occur again, especially after the mess the Jesuits had made of matters through being "in such a hurry to get the Vatican decrees passed in 1870" (p. 45). The decrees themselves were described above. But it was, happily for Protestant England, not to be: great expectations were to prove void of fulfilment; high hopes to be signally disappointed. "In point of fact, little or nothing of this programme was so much as outlined" (p. 46). So, whichever way you look at "the Roman Catholics in England," there is nothing either to cheer them or make Established Churchmen fear. The elder clergy were *ab origine* and hopelessly "out of touch with the nation," "foreign-bred," and so on; the convert clergy when "in touch" foolishly put themselves out of touch; and though Cardinal Manning would make believe that he at least is "in touch" by "advertising himself and his communion, by continually keeping it before the public eye, and posing in his own person as an English patriot and philanthropist" (p. 51) the whole thing is—thanks to the *Quarterly*—seen through and exposed to the ridicule and reprobation of all honest men! Nay, worse, for the "Anglo-Roman communion," than even all this, the convert clergy—with all their bowing to the usual law of reaction" (that is, as the Reviewer goes on to explain, their bidding adieu to every remnant or trace of heresy)—are not destined to "bow" much longer. They are fast dying off. And, as we have seen from a previous quotation, only "poor quality ones" are coming on; "none but moral and intellectual cripples" (p. 45).*

* The similarity of thought, and frequently of expression, between selections from the *Church Times* and the article under notice has frequently arrested our attention. Here is an instance: "But we are afraid it is hardly direct and forcible enough to affect the stamp of men and women who secede nowadays. They are not of the same pattern by any means as those of the great secession era of 1844-51, but almost invariably of feeble understanding, contented ignorance, and low conscientiousness—sentimentality, in most cases, usurping the functions of conscience." (Review of "The Roman Question, in Letters to a Friend, by an Aged Priest," *Church Times*, March 16, 1888.) Let the reader also compare the following extracts with pp. 60 and 61 of the article under consideration, and he cannot fail to trace some connection between our Reviewer and

So what every earnest Protestant now witnesses throughout the land in place of a triumphant "Anglo-Roman communion" is—"a recrudescence of anti-Church of England controversy on the Roman part throughout the country, stimulated by the consciousness of failure and the approaching peril of an unlettered priesthood" (p. 61).

But the argument may without any exaggeration be rendered cumulative. The convert element when fairly tackled may be not only scotched but killed : not merely killed, but killed—dead. Not only are our convert clergy fast yielding to the common lot of humanity, but what after all have they effected in their new communion—to wit, the "Anglo-Roman"—and their new career? Bad as were the old "foreign-breds," they were not so bad and incapable as these. Cardinal Wiseman even can be eulogized as a prelate of forbearance and moderation when the Ultramontane converts come in for our critic's vituperation. The Cardinal and his fellow "seminarists" had been called by nicknames, very illustrative of the Reviewer's style and equally indicative of his irritation, and been well flogged heretofore. The whips and cords had then been so many bundles of "high-cultured" converts. But this purpose served, their own beating was to begin ; and what more in accordance with retributive justice than that the great Cardinal himself should be made the cudgel ? The father had been beaten with whips, his convert children must be beaten with scorpions. And this is how in a few sentences it is done. "Cardinal Wiseman, an eminent scholar and an astute controversialist, was not a very active ruler, and did not further this (extreme Ultramontane) programme so much as might be expected" (p. 46). So the converts, to use a homely phrase, took up the running, and "the Ultramontane movement was pushed vigorously . . . little to the satisfaction of the native school of Roman Catholics" (p. 46). And the result of this their "bowing to the usual law of reaction," and, as became men "coming from a higher stratum of society and possessed of a wider and more liberal culture," to the British public, was, after all, a fiasco, ending in the utter discomfiture of the "Anglo-Roman Church in every manner, doctrinal, disciplinary, and devotional" (*Ibid.*). These three fatal d's conclude this sad episode in our ecclesiastical history.

the *Church Times* :—"Quotations from F. Gratry, on the systematized mendacity of Ultramontanism . . . ought to have been supplied." "And the closing letter ought to have been strengthened by a comparison between the religious and social condition of England with that of Roman Catholic countries, taking F. Curci's books, for example, as showing the condition of religion in Italy amongst professing Catholics, and pointing to the state of Ireland for the social part of the inquiry."

We have so far been endeavouring to show the method pursued by the Reviewer in his manipulation of facts, figures, and fictions. It will be well now to place on record a few statements which should be read side by side with his pages by every candid and truth-seeking reader.

I. For an obvious and malicious purpose he uses towards our non-convert Catholic clergy such "high-cultured" terminology as "foreign-bred," "seminarists," and so forth. But it is quite certain that a greater proportion of our priests at the present day receive the whole or the major part of their education in England, than in the days when the Reviewer allows them to have been such "moderate, robust, and manly" old gentlemen. In bygone days our "foreign-breds" were genuine products of foreign education, spending the best part of their student life in colleges abroad.

But the question must present itself to most intelligent minds, as to whether the Reviewer's sneer at the training of our priests is not an indication of his being half a century at least behind the age. The day, it seems to us, has long gone by when a course of studies well advanced at home but completed and perfected in some college abroad, usually connected with a University of note, was held in derision as unworthy of a British subject, and bound to bring upon him the lash of the *Quarterly Review*. Nowadays it is well, and we had considered until the perusal of our critic's paper, universally known that, apart from the sound and extensive theological training thus ensured, there is usually the acquisition of at least one living language. A man is not now held to have put himself "out of touch" with his nation, because he has put himself "in touch" with foreign culture and peoples by years of travel and study. And, judging from our own experience, the "high culture" of a goodly number of Established clergymen would have been singularly benefited by a similar process.

II. As to the influence of our converts from an educational and literary standpoint, the Reviewer makes light of it, and from an extremely partial and meagre survey concludes that "the convert element has not made good the practical deficiencies of Anglo-Romanism" (p. 50). But we can safely reply to him, that to no pursuit have converts so devotedly applied themselves as to that of imparting to the members of our colleges—lay as well as clerical—the learning and "high culture" they brought with them from Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere.

There is hardly a college or seminary in the kingdom, which if not actually worked (in part) by converts, has not professors who owe much to convert teaching. Take, for instance, the great teaching Order of the Church, the Society of Jesus. A convert is at present and has for years been Provincial—Father Purbrick;

a convert for years taught philosophy and theology, both at Stonyhurst and St. Beuno's—Father Harper; many converts assisted in or presided over the studies from the lowest forms to the divinity classes, and among these Father Walford, an ex-Master of Eton, together with Fathers Hunter (eighth wrangler), Wynne, Tickell, Benson, Pope (nephew of Whateley), Anderdon, Humphrey, Dover, and a host of others. Among the Redemptorists, a convert was long Provincial, the late Right Rev. Bp. Coffin; and as members the names of F.F. Bridgett, Dodsworth, and Livius will readily occur to mind. Among the Passionists, conspicuous was Father the Hon. Ignatius Spencer. Among the Benedictines, F. A. Paley, E. Walford, and Rev. J. Brade Morris were of notable assistance to the studies at Downside. Dr. Northcote was a host in himself at Oscott, where he was for years President; and in connection with the same college we find converts such as Canons Estcourt and Bathurst, Revs. Bodley, Cave, &c. &c. Colleges at Bayswater and Edgbaston were conducted exclusively by converts. The present Bishop of Emmaus, Mgr. Pattison, was President of St. Edmund's, Old Hall; and long before that period Dr. Ward, a lay convert, taught even theology to the divinity students. So it is abundantly clear to any one conversant with the Catholic domestic history of the past forty years that if the converts failed in imparting to the Catholic rising clergy and laity the refinement and culture for which as a body they were especially remarkable, it was through no want of exertion on their parts or of hearty co-operation and encouragement on the side of Catholic authority. As a matter of fact their success was, and is, undoubtedly.

III. The Reviewer falls foul also of our text-books. And though the Catholic students who make use of them have to face the latest phases of Protestant waning faith, these text-books are so concocted that those who use them are kept in ignorance of the "two sides of the question between Rome and England." He probably forgets, or it does not suit his purpose to call to mind, that under some of the very authors of these text-books have sat many of the convert clergy—a Manning even, and a Newman—listening to, and learning refutations of, errors they themselves had advocated and since abandoned. And that to their lectures flocked almost all who could meet the expense and afford the time. And in the hands of such critical minds as these were the very text-books which our critic decries. We question if he has ever seen, much less studied, say Perrone's "*Prælectiones Theologicæ*" or Ballerini's edition of Gury's "*Compendium of Moral Theology*." For otherwise, how could such lines as the following have proceeded from his pen?—

The English student of theology, who happens to light for the first

time upon a Roman Catholic theological textbook, is apt to be struck by its lucid arrangement, its incisive, unfaltering statements, contrasting not a little with some of the books his own teachers recommend to him. He believes himself to have come upon the adit of an inexhaustible mine, but, as he procures one book after another, he finds that they are all of the same pattern, containing just the same matter a little differently worded, and that the range is limited on all sides in a thoroughly cramping fashion (p. 48).

Would that we had space to give merely the headings of the chapters in the two text-books cited, and cited less because of their bulk than because they have been for many years, and continue, in such demand by our clerical students.

One true statement that accompanies the many false ones in this extract is worthy of remark. It informs us that our text-books contrast "not a little" with those put into the hands of young Protestant clerics. And one has but to examine a specimen, such as is now lying before us, to see how ludicrously consonant with strict truth the remark is. The volume is styled "*Compendium Theologicum; or, Manual for Students in Theology.*" Its author or compiler is a Reverend M.A. of Cambridge, and hence one "in touch" with the nation whose rising clergy he essays to assist. "The favour," he writes in the preface, "with which the first edition of this Compendium has been received, not only at the Universities and other Theological Colleges, &c." And its contents are as follows:—Pp. 1 to 97—Ecclesiastical History, ending with the History of the Church of England and the Reformation in England from p. 97 to 129. Then follow nearly 100 pages devoted to "English Liturgy and the Bible," which include all that has to be learned of the Psalter, Lessons, Canticles, Creeds, &c. &c.; the Sacraments; and the History of the English Bible. This brings us to p. 224, and the remainder of the little volume is occupied to the end (p. 380) with "The Thirty-nine Articles." Each page contains considerably less than one of the pages of this REVIEW, and not one quarter of any one of the pages of Perrone; whose text-book contains at the very lowest computation twenty times the amount of letterpress, although it treats of Dogmatic Theology alone. Ballerini contains some ten times the amount, though devoted exclusively to Moral Theology. And yet a writer in such a respectable production as the *Quarterly Review* can denominate the range as "limited on all sides in a thoroughly cramping fashion." As a matter of fact, Protestant clergymen have little or no theological or philosophical training. Neither philosophy nor theology finds any real place in their preparatory course. This little "*Compendium Theologicum*" would, beyond doubt, enable any student who had mastered its ridiculous admixture of everything

almost except theology and philosophy, to pass *summā cum laude* his examination for Orders. Yet—as is clear from its table of contents—it but touches the fringe of subjects historical rather than theological. And why? Simply through no fault of the successful compiler; his book meets every requirement; *ignoti nulla est cupidio*.

IV. Mighty, however, as has been the aid and the impetus imparted to our studies by converts, not in the theological or philosophical line, for their own course had never prepared them for this, but in those usually comprised under the Reviewer's selected term "high culture;" we must not forget that in spite of all their difficulties, our clerical forefathers had kept up wholesome traditions as to classical and other studies, in which many of them quite equalled the champions even of our English Universities. That these very traditions originated in the connection of many of our early post-Reformation lay and clerical Catholics with Oxford and Cambridge is quite certain. And such prodigies in classical lore as Daniel French and Dr. Picquot—or, in mathematics, Bishop Walmesley of the Western District, are still fresh in the memory of a generation not altogether passed away. Living necessarily in great retirement our elder generation of priests were as scholars in the learning that forms the backbone of high culture, faithful to the traditions entrusted to them, and securely transmitted it to the generation that succeeded them under happier circumstances than had fallen to their own lot. Nor were the clergy of the Established Church in any way remarkable in those days for the results of an education which they were supposed to have received during their sojourn at one or other of the national Universities. It is not in the least too much to say that as a class they were, even in point of "high culture" as well as solid learning, far behind the Catholic priest. Nor do those names selected by the Reviewer as "the most noteworthy" of our writers by any means exhaust the list. He passes over indeed in silence, if not in ignorance, "the most noteworthy." No allusion is made to Bishop Walmesley; yet it was chiefly through his agency that the great change in the Calendar from the old to the new style was brought about. He does not mention our greatest and one of our earliest writers—a convert, too—Bishop Chaloner. That prodigy of accuracy and research, Alban Butler, is omitted; so too his nephew, Charles. The Douai Version of the Bible is not noticed, and yet how many unacknowledged tributes to its superiority are to be met with in the new "Authorized Version"? Coming nearer to our own times, no mention of the two Waterworths, of Bishops Baines and Brown. No mention of Reeve and his "Scriptural History," Mannock, O.S.B., and his "Poor Man's Catechism;" Archer,

Fletcher, Bishop Hay, Husenbeth, and a host of others, who, with talents equal to higher things, applied themselves to meet the less exalted needs of their time.* Moreover, long before the converts came to our literary assistance, Catholics had taken a stand of marvellous boldness and significance, considering the paucity of our numbers, in that class of literature so pre-eminently the product of this century. This REVIEW was successfully set on foot by Cardinal Wiseman, O'Connell and others, as the exponent of Catholic truth and Catholic views *versus* the Protestant utterances of the Liberal *Edinburgh* and *Tory Quarterly*. Its pages were destined soon to become the most providential and powerful instrument of successful "proselytism." For though in a sense, as the Reviewer puts it—"only the merest fraction of the clerical and other educated converts during the period 1843-51 was obtained by Roman proselytism" (p. 41), yet we have but to refer to the pages of the early numbers of this REVIEW to see that learning of a deep patristic and theological tone and nature happily steered the Tractarian movement to its legitimate haven. The Reviewer affects a show of comfort in the thought that there was "no Biblical scholar—that is to say, no one whose speciality was the critical or exegetical study of Scripture, or who had contributed anything of value to expositions and commentaries or any of its books" (p. 44). And he is not far from the truth. The ignorance of these Scriptural bookworms on most other topics was as profound as proverbial. From the Protestant standpoint this ignorance was their salvation; our game was with minds of a higher order and devoted to researches of a deeper nature. And if these were comparatively few in number, what wonder, when we call to mind the utter absence of ecclesiastical and theological erudition in the Establishment at large? Had not our critic's able predecessor foreseen and explained the cause of this? At any rate, thus he summed the case up in the article already quoted:—

We are too conceited to be really wise, and, least of all, to be really learned. And in theology, of which the whole basis and superstructure is learning, as distinct from general information and cultivation of

* A testimony to the varied and continuous work of these and similar Catholic writers in the early days of Emancipation, is an advertisement that recently appeared in the columns of a contemporary. "The following works of Dr. Husenbeth required:—Christian Student, Defence of the Creed, Christian Refuge, Original Songs, St. Cyprian Vindicated, Notices of English Colleges and Convents Abroad, The Roman Question, The Chain of the Fathers, History of Sedgeley Park School, The Convert Martyrs—a Drama, The Life of St. Wulstan, The Life of Mgr. Woodall." Yet in addition to these he brought out an edition of the Bible and of the Roman Breviary.

mind, we are sadly in the dark. But the Church is placed at this crisis between great enemies—Romanism and Ultra-Protestantism, and the only weapon with which either of these can be encountered is learning—an extensive knowledge of antiquity, accurate researches into history, profound scholarship. The great strength of Rome is her appeal to antiquity (p. 221).

Precisely so. At the moment and in the questions that were vital to the great Tractarian movement Scriptural studies were hardly in place, and those who plodded on with them as the only theological pursuit within their narrow-sighted ken, were left alone with their lexicons and commentaries. For all practical purposes, such as the pulpit and ordinary controversy and enlightenment, Cornelius à Lapide, Dom Calmet, and others were ever at hand, and ample. Nevertheless, again and again do the early pages of the DUBLIN furnish specimens of exquisite Scriptural "studies."*

Many works also—some original, others reprints, others translations—have issued unceasingly from our Catholic press. Yet such authors as Dr. Rock are unnoticed, possibly because unknown to the Reviewer. So is Archbishop Ullathorne, notwithstanding his eloquent evidence before the House of Lords upon the transportation question, and his three last works, which are in matter unrivalled by and in power of language equal to anything of the kind attempted by a Protestant writer. And to go on with the Reviewer's omissions: the many volumes of elevating reading that we possess in the "black" Lives of the Saints, edited by the Fathers of the Oratory; our Clifton Tracts; and the valuable and numerous publications of the Catholic Truth Society, all point to literary activity upon our part, which the High Church party in the Establishment have at length aroused themselves to imitate. In all his enumerations, whether of old Catholic men or literature (p. 39), or of converts and their efforts (p. 43), he is equally deficient. Surely among the latter such an advocate of the distinction between a Roman and an Anglican Catholic cannot be ignorant of the existence of such a work as M. J. Rhodes's "Visible Unity of the Church, &c.,," yet it is not mentioned by him.†

The catalogues of our Catholic publishers are perhaps the best refutation of our opponent, from old Andrews, Booker and Dolman, through Richardson of Derby, to Burns and Oates,

* See, among many other such productions:—"Catholic Tradition and Scripture," 1847; "The Parables of the New Testament," and "The Miracles of the New Testament," 1849; "The Actions of the New Testament," 1851; and "The Bible in Maynooth," 1852.

† There is no work, we venture to think, so admirably adapted for enabling Catholics to meet the new cry of Protestants, that they, and not we, are descendants of the old Catholic Church of England.

Washbourne, and others. The time had clearly come for many Catholics to popularize their writings. Others, meanwhile, were wielding the power of the press in reviews, magazines, and by means of cheap devotional publications. Our old enemy, the religious tract, was broken into service. It had become incumbent upon our educators and apologists, capable as many of them were of far higher things, to descend into and contend in the arena of daily and pressing utility. Hence our early periodicals, our volumes of controversies or sermons, the lectures of our leaders, notably those of that prince of popular lecturers, the great English Cardinal; our manuals of prayer, from the "Garden of the Soul and Daily Companion" to the compilation just issued with the sanction of our Bishops, less to meet any want of matter—still less as a mercantile speculation (see *Quarterly*, p. 61)—than to secure uniformity in the words of prayer throughout the country. A general awakening set in after Emancipation throughout the kingdom among Catholics, and with it a widespread demand for works ministering less to the requirements of literary taste than to the needs of devout and prayer-loving souls. So, too, in our architecture, the revival was marked and marvellous when our scant means are considered. And soon Catholic taste guided Catholic firms and their employés to the foremost position in the realm of ecclesiastical art.* And in music, from good old, sound, and rigidly ecclesiastical Webbe, to Novello's arrangements of Haydn, Mozart, and others, the progress was discernible by all, and actually seen save by those who feared to see.

V. The Reviewer also omits all reference to another notable sign of our progress and proof of our position. Our record of successful students at the only public institution where an opportunity was afforded of showing what training they had undergone, the London University, is another and a signal testimony to the fact that the authorities of our colleges and our leading laymen were alive to every facility for turning out a new generation of "lettered" priests and laymen, and alert to seize upon and make the most of all the means within reasonable reach of effecting this end. And of these their persevering efforts, what are the present results? We pass by—but clearly for another reason than that which obviously impelled the Reviewer to do so—the long list of our collegiate and scholastic establishments: their existence and their influence are too well known for us to dilate upon them here, and at once ask the question in order to answer it—how do our clergy stand before the country at the present day? As chaplains in the Army or Navy: as members of school boards

* Messrs. Hardman & Co., of Birmingham, for instance.

and burial boards ; as poor-law guardians ; in attendance—and that in most instances without remuneration—upon the inmates of our hospitals, asylums, workhouses, and prisons ; on the public platform, whether as advocates of charity, temperance, or some political measure ; in the social and municipal life, where each priest in his sphere usually more than holds his own ; can it be said that he is distanced by the clergy of the Establishment, or is less "in touch" with his neighbours of every denomination than they ? Even the vaunted parochial advantages of a married clergy (*Quarterly*, p. 56) pale before those of a celibate priesthood. The whole of the Catholic priest's anxiety and care are kept in reserve for his flock alone. Besides, we give even our Reviewer credit for some knowledge, if not painful experience, of the drawbacks that attend upon a ministry shared more or less by the wife. He knows probably but too well the misery and heartburnings that result from the feminine busy-bodying, harassments, embarrassments, annoyances which are almost invariably concomitants of active ministration on the part of a parson's wife. As to the spiritual discontent and damage, are they not recorded in the memories, if not the annals, of every old parishioner in almost every parish ? Much more might be said on this point. But it is quite certain that the advantage the priest has over the parson in spite of his "Romanism"—which, by the way, is not without its charm for many minds and more imaginations when not in actual controversial collision with its claims—is great and decided in the majority of the social circles that form part of, or border upon, what is termed "society." And all this with the happy result—strikingly indicative of our improved position—that no longer, as a class, are Catholic servants and employés tabooed ; no longer are Catholic tradesmen and even professional men boycotted, and, at times, by such bigotry ruined ; no longer even is it an electioneering cry of any force against a candidate for municipal or parliamentary honours that he is a Roman Catholic. The Reviewer and his party may wince over all this, and much more that could be adduced of a kindred nature ; but it is all honest, patent fact. Such a wondrous change as regards our "touch upon the nation" has, after years of gradual approach, come at last with a sudden bound upon us. It is not too much to say that, given proportionate progress by the Catholic Church in England during the ensuing fifty years, to that which has been its happy lot during the last fifty, and—what will be the cry of the *Quarterly* and the *Church Times* in 1938 ?

VI. As we have already noted *en passant*, the insignificance of the number of our converts is continually brought to the fore by inference, by insinuation, by direct statement. And this, nominally with the defensive object of showing that the Establishment was

by no means fatally depleted by the secession, but really, as becomes patent at every step, to tranquillize anxious Churchmen whose eyes are turned with dismay towards "the Roman Catholics in England :" and to reassure them that there are no grounds for alarm, arising from our progress or position.

As regards this paucity or abundance, the Reviewer might have saved himself much concern. For the question of numbers is comparatively unimportant in the consideration of position. It is conceded on all hands that a body of clergy and laity of decided mark and position in the Established Church and in social life, came over from Protestantism to Catholicity chiefly in two great waves, or secessions, one about 1844, the other about 1851. Also, that many of these gave up by the change every earthly hope and prospect ; in fact to the worldling's eye were irretrievably ruined. In addition to these, a far greater number, but of less social distinction, were received between 1845 and 1851, up and down the country, into the Church ; and this source of increment still continues. We likewise from time to time gather in members of the higher class—the "moral and intellectual cripples" of our "high-cultured" but very irascible Reviewer. Lords Ripon, William Nevill, Bennet, Francis Osborne, with Sir Philip Rose, and Messrs. Orby Shipley, Fowle, Bennet, Conder, and Luke Rivington—the last five lately clergymen in the Establishment—come to mind, at the moment, as belonging to this category. But conceding thus much, the number in comparison with our million and a half, or thereabouts, would at the highest hazarded conjecture be small. In the question of progress and position, however, character, learning, "high culture," wealth, social and other influence, throw the item of numbers considerably into the shade. The Reviewer foolishly urges that the whole number could be accommodated in one large London church ; but was one church, a man of plain sense naturally and immediately asks, ever filled, or likely to be filled, with such a congregation ? The converted clergymen, he goes on to say (p. 43), amounted to no more than a six months' supply of the whole English clergy. Yes, so far as numbers go, we grant, and hence the Reviewer's persistence in reducing them ; but what a grand step upwards would it not be for the Establishment to be recruited in six months, or sixty years, by such a three hundred and thirty-five ! A vast body of extra men are often as a mere nothing to a huge army ; but a few of extraordinary discipline and courage make all the difference. A squadron of British Hussars were of infinitely more value at Waterloo than all Wellington's thirteen thousand Dutchmen. And thus, we maintain, the great Oxford movement singularly aided the onward progress of Catholicity to *position* in the country.

He goes on to give the names of "the most distinguished of

the clerical converts," in order to make it manifest that "the personal equations of the seceders was far less flattering to the Roman cause than has been supposed" (p. 43). Eight names "pretty nearly exhaust the record." The "notable laymen" are then enumerated and mount up to a score. The underrating is—paradoxical as it may sound—over-done; the falsehood is too evident; the *suppressio veri* too absurd. No mention is made of the Marquis of Bute, the Rev. W. Sibthorpe, the Rev. G. Hopkins (first class, Oxford); Canons Oakeley, Wenham, Douglass, Drinkwater, Glenie, Brownlow, Kennard, and Macmullen; Bishop Coffin and Bishop Patterson; the two Karslakes, the three Beau-clerks, Charles Santley, Charles Hallé, Charles Mathews, Mrs. Bancroft, Miss Braddon, Mr. Burnand, Gilbert Scott, and Lady Butler of "The Roll Call" fame; William Palmer, R. S. Hawker, Adelaide Procter, Lady Georgiana Fullerton, Lady Herbert of Lea; the Duke and Duchess of Leeds, the Duchess of Buccleugh, the Marchionesses of Londonderry, Lothian, and Waterford; the Lords Kerr, Lord Bury (Ashdown), Lord A. Douglas; the Hons. W. Towry Law and Colin Lindsay, Lord Alexander Gordon Lennox, and Owen Lewis, M.P. The Rev. Lord Charles Thynne is omitted; so are the Earls of Denbigh, Granard, Oxford, Buchan, and Gainsborough, Sir William P. Heathcote, Sir W. Molesworth, and Sir Archibald K. McDonald, Baronets. Many other names keep recurring to us, and many more not enumerated here will present themselves to our various readers; but we have surely cited enough and to spare to prove the value of the Reviewer's system of surveying our position. And yet we have scarcely mentioned a name from among the untitled landed gentry, some of whose oldest and most influential members—such as Mr. Wegg Prosser of Herefordshire, Messrs. Cary Elwes and George Lane Fox, and the Norfolk Traffords—have long been members of the Church.

Besides ourselves, the Reviewer attacks our buildings—schools, presbyteries, convents, we presume, as well as churches. "Plant" is the best term his courtesy can suggest for them. Now as to these and their circumstances we have the advantage of being as fairly well informed as it is, perhaps, possible for any one to be. So we will not have recourse to any other method of meeting his statements than by a simple explanation or denial, based upon an intimate knowledge of the facts.

He says: "The enormous increase of plant, as attested by the statistics at the outset of the present article, is partly speculation . . . trying to procure business, and trying to seem prosperous before it can begin to be so" (p. 54). A bold face had clearly to be put upon this aspect of the position of "the Roman Catholics in England;" for who runs may read in our public buildings very expressive signs of the times. And malicious ingenuity could

hardly have invented a more specious and wily an explanation. But it is positively untrue. We meet his assertion by a direct and general denial. Though, possibly, our rising indignation at such insidious modes of controversy should be tempered by the underlying admission of the Reviewer, that the preliminary stage of prosperity has been reached by us: we already "seem to be prosperous;" and that, in a question of position, goes a long way. "It is further," he continues, in reference to this widely spread "plant," "a means of providing for a large number of people who have thus comfortable berths secured for them." We are somewhat at a loss here to imagine even what this sentence implies. About the only "comfortable berths secured," that we are aware of, are those that are the happy lot of the aged and infirm poor tended until death by the Little Sisters of the Poor, or the inmates of our Homes and Orphanages. But such would clearly not enter into the Reviewer's estimate; this would be blessing where he was minded to curse. But who, then, are these very fortunate persons? It is quite certain that if they are in any number this would testify to our prosperity and hence to our position—though the Reviewer had most probably overlooked that concomitant item. The whole thing is literally a tissue of utter rubbish. Were it but partially true, we should think it much more likely to shake than to calm the nerves of anxious Anglicans, and would be the first to admit and glory in it. But it is absolutely false, and for many years we shall of necessity meet with other modes of spending what little money can be scraped together, than this absurd one with which the Reviewer strives to explain away the obvious increase in "plant."

He goes on: "The funds for the purpose are drawn, partly from wealthy converts" (where then, by the way, is his list of converts of position?), "and are partly furnished from foreign countries, in the hope that lavish expenditure, continued sufficiently long, may at length yield a proportionate harvest." Would, again, that a tithe of all this were true! It would comfort us to think that "foreign countries" took so substantial a share in England's conversion: we are aware of the increasing and manifold prayers offered up for this end, and we rely, more than we can express, upon such intercession; but "the lavish expenditure" has not reached us yet. The converts, unquestionably, have done their utmost, but few of their number were in a position to help materially. And though large contributions have here and there been made by them, these are very little when put side by side with those that have come from the one great and constant source. Nearly all our erections, with their means of support, are due to the sacrifices of our old Catholics—the 1,358,100. The rich have steadily and perseveringly and liberally given their pounds; so,

too, the middle classes, often better able, and always as willing, to afford them than those who with larger incomes had to meet greater expenditure. And, with a generosity, a universality, and a perseverance that no one outside the pale could ever imagine, but which we know well, the poor, with their pence, have been the mainspring and support of nearly every great undertaking. With some comparatively small sums received from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, and possibly similar amounts afforded here and there from a mother-house in France or Belgium to an affiliation of the order here, the "lavish expenditure" is exhausted. What with the money spent abroad for Church students, the contributions to the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, to Peter-pence, and in other ways, together with the annual support of such an institution as Mill Hill for foreign missions, it is probable that more money for Catholic religious purposes goes out of the country than finds its way into it.

We, of course, exclude from this calculation the French and German religious establishments in temporary existence amongst us. These derive their incomes, in great part at least, from abroad. Nevertheless, their presence here adds to the Roman Catholic momentum, and so to our name and position.

Further on, in forgetfulness of this "lavish expenditure" and the "wealthy converts," he lights, in Lord Bray's pages, upon the secret of the whole "increase of clerical plant." And off he goes upon an entirely new track, with delightful unconcern as to its conformity with his previous career. It is now—debt. He quotes approvingly, and with the glee of having just got what he wanted, some phrases from a letter in one of our Catholic papers. "First—debt; second—debt; and third—still debt: or, if not, poverty, poverty, poverty." So away with the "lavish expenditure" from abroad and the "wealthy converts" at home, and heigh-ho for this damning idea of debt, debt, debt. The snug gentry, too, quartered in their "comfortable berths" are lost sight of, and the cry is now—poverty, poverty, poverty. And to tell truth, here we are much more in accord with him. Of the utter nonsense which he proffered as an explanation of *seeming* prosperity, we could not bring ourselves to take much serious notice. It was too ludicrous for refutation. But conscious of the great wants the rapid spread of Catholicity in England brings with it, we confess to our energies being too frequently damped by lack of means. At the same time he, as usual, outstrips the truth, and so lands himself in falsehood. *In medio stat virtus.* We are neither so well off as, in his "wealthy converts" and "lavish expenditure" moments of illusion, he would make us out to be; nor, on the other hand, are we everywhere and always hovering hopelessly between debt, debt, debt, or poverty, poverty, poverty.

For, as to "the many new and stately Roman Catholic churches rising on all sides" being "mortgaged up to the windows, with little prospect of discharging the incumbrances" (p. 57), his misgivings are, save in exceptional cases, baseless.

Still there is no denying that either of his charges standing alone is most damaging to our position. That our prosperity is not native but kept up "from abroad," and that "the many new and stately Roman Catholic churches rising on all sides" are "analogous to the polished granite pillars and plate-glass windows of the office of some company which is trying to procure business," besides being somewhat uncomplimentary, which is excusable in an irritated man, are sufficiently grave indictments. So, too, that instead of these churches being solvent and paid for they are all "mortgaged up to the windows," and debt or poverty perpetually and persistently staring founders in the face; nothing indeed could be much worse. It is the two assertions together that won't stand, that are mutually inconsistent, that contradict and annihilate each other. So, the Reviewer, of whom we must say that he has his wits, such as they are, usually about him, exerts his tactical abilities to dispose his antagonistic forces in such manner that one shall be kept well out of the way and the sight of the other. One statement is, therefore, placed foremost in the van: Lord Braye's,* Canon Wenham's, Mr. Bampfield's, and

* Lord Braye's earnest contention was in favour of many small and inexpensive churches in place of fewer and larger structures. And it is, we think, the general view of most of the Catholic body—clergy as well as laity. Such a plan seems to tend more directly to the service and salvation of souls. That it does so more extensively is, however, not so settled—though often too hastily taken for granted. Grand and beautiful buildings add much to our position, and many persons are influenced in the first instance by these signs of position, who would never have thought of the Catholic Church but for the signs everywhere manifest that at length her position is established in the land. Too well does our Reviewer know this. Besides, these stately and costly buildings are sometimes the gift of a wealthy donor. And if a system of dictation or over-control on the part of ecclesiastical authority were to step in between private persons and the disposal of bounty or charity, the outcry would be stronger and louder than any even our Reviewer could put forth. From personal knowledge of the circumstances under which several such edifices have been erected, we have no doubt that both bishop and priests did their utmost to get the means thus expended distributed over several districts, but were overruled by the decision of those who were in command of the purse. Yet this evil, if it is one, more or less corrects itself, or rather the consequences imputed to it; and is indirectly, in the way above indicated, of signal service to souls. For our part, and until absolute perfection has been attained, we think that the more pamphlets like Lord Braye's, and the more communications similar to Canon Wenham's and Mr. Bampfield's, the better. They have but to respect legitimate authority in their appeals to it, and to treat temperately matters that concern so many, and with regard to which opinions are so divided,

other sad admissions such as theirs, which are kept "amongst themselves, and in publications which the general public never see" (p. 52), form a grand dividing centre; and then we have the debt and poverty indictment securely posted well in rear. After this strategical disposition, the commander-in-chief thinks it time to strike the final blow. So down it comes, and thus: "This" (to wit, the debt and poverty view) "emphasizes the statement already made" (the "lavish expenditure" and "wealthy converts" account) "that speculative advertisement, rather than genuine demand, has prompted the erection of a large proportion of them." Lord Braye, we should not omit to mention for the terror of such future evil-doers, was "loudly and angrily blamed for publishing such unpleasant secrets" (p. 58). Yet Lord Braye and his congeners were poor tools, after all, for such a work as needed doing.

In the various confessions of failure, the reasons assigned are all, so to speak, external. In none save Lord Braye's is there present any admission, or even any consciousness, that defects inherent in the Roman system itself, as distinguished from minor errors of judgment in those who administer it here (and Lord Braye goes no further in his strictures), can be accountable for the disappointment of the once sanguine expectations of easy and rapid triumph" (p. 58).

So, after all, what leaks out "amongst themselves, and in publications which the general public never see" is nothing as it leaves the Reviewer's hands to what it was when he discovered and pounced upon it, and which in the beginning he had magnified into a sorrowful admission of utter failure. "Amongst themselves, and in publications which the general public never see, the Anglo-Romans sorrowfully admit that they are actually losing ground, &c." (p. 52). Lord Braye, then, and his indiscreet friends must be rehabilitated. It was a mistake to "loudly and angrily blame" him. This letting them down so gently when, as in other instances, the Reviewer's purpose had been served by their undue exaltation, is immediately explained, or rather explainable. They had dealt merely with externals, but at length and in our own pages a writer is "happened upon" who puts Lord Braye, Canon Wenham, Mr. Bampfield and the rest completely into the shade. Of course, treating upon such a subject as "The Conversion of England," "he writes with caution." Lord Braye's fate was no doubt before him. Nevertheless, Mr. St. George Mivart "says briefly that the Italianization of Anglo-Romanism has been a

and much good, with little or no harm, will be the happy result. But it is essential to success that all bitterness be jealously excluded: it is the too common bane of such otherwise well-directed efforts. The angrier the wound the softer the touch of the skilful and successful surgeon.

fatal blunder" (p. 59). Whether Mr. Mivart has said anything of the kind, we stop not to discuss; it is quite certain that to make out what he has said or what he has not said from the Reviewer's pages is an utter impossibility. He professes to give the exact words, but substitutes for these a paraphrase, and only quotes the *ipsissima verba* twice, and the words quoted are absolutely the mildest in the whole paragraph, and would neither shock nor alarm the most sensitive of "Italianized" Catholics. With this very angry gentleman we have now done.

So many causes at times combine to produce a great result, that it is a matter of some difficulty to apportion to each its due and precise weight. The great result at present under examination is the significant position of "The Roman Catholics in England." It is possible that we may be over-sanguine, in spite of such Cassandras as the Reviewer has invoked first and then contemptuously discarded; but, with many allowances for acknowledged losses and drawbacks, our position is a good one, and shows signs of increasing strength, rather than of the inherent weakness its enemies would fain detect. Many of the causes of this prosperity have been already touched upon, some even fairly exhausted, in our several replies to the *Quarterly Reviewer*'s special accusations. But there are others that have influenced largely towards this great and remarkable change in our status and condition. First of all and before all things, our fellow-countrymen have at length begun to judge us without any, or at least with much less, prejudice. A cause of this, as well as in part a consequence (in a growing subject cause and effect assist each other), must be recognized in the established fact, that few families of position in the kingdom are without some Catholic member; perhaps hardly one without some Catholic friends. It goes for much also in the question of position that, while our Cardinals have been honoured by royalty, and even a humble missioner vouchsafed the courtesies of the heir-apparent in his capacity as a neighbouring Catholic priest, our gracious Sovereign has not considered it undignified or dangerous to head the Catholic nations of the world in high and noble respectful recognition of the Supreme Pontiff; and this not without a remembrance that he had once been the guest of her Majesty and the Prince Consort. Again (despite all the sneers of our Reviewer as to "posing, &c.", the reason of which is obvious enough, and hence pitiable, perhaps pardonable), no man, certainly no ecclesiastic in the United Kingdom, stands more "in touch with the nation" than our Cardinal Archbishop. What we owe to him and to Cardinal Newman can scarcely be overrated. To avoid repetition of names, we rather refer the reader back to our additions to the meagre list of eminent converts supplied by the Reviewer. No religious body could well remain longer in

the background with the addition of such men to its membership. Then, too, though our members of the House of Peers were but few, they represented and were specially distinguished by the antiquity of the honours that had descended through many generations to them. And such lengthy rolls tell powerfully in a country which is still said in derision to "worship a lord." A Catholic priest even now sits among them (Lord Petre), and another priest is heir-presumptive to a peerage. And to descend even to such minor items of note, but all indicative of position, we believe that in one year a Catholic (Mr. Towneley) won the Derby; a Catholic stood at the head of the yachting interest (Mr. Weld, of Lulworth, whose father's guest George III. had once been); and a Catholic (Lord Denbigh) was unsurpassed at Wimbledon. We have had a Catholic Viceroy of India, and Catholic Governors in Malta, New Zealand, and Mauritius; while the Turkish Ambassador to her Majesty, Rustem Pacha, is a Catholic, as is also her Majesty's Minister at Constantinople, Sir William White. Catholic names in position and of position meet us daily and at every turn. In science: F. Perry, S.J., Admiral Sabine and Mr. Proctor; in law: Judges Shea (R.I.P.), Day and Mathew, with Mr. Aspinall, Q.C. (late Recorder of Liverpool), Sir Charles Russell, M.P., and H. R. Bagshaw, Esq., Q.C. Lord Bury has been a member of the Ministry and is a Privy Councillor; Mr. Matthews is a member of the Ministry and a Privy Councillor; Sir John Lambert is a Privy Councillor, and was publicly thanked by Mr. Gladstone in the House for the aid he had afforded the Liberal party as a statistician, and was subsequently chairman of the Boundary Commission. Sir Arthur Herbert, K.C.B., General Dormer, Col. Butler, and others represent us in the Army; and in literature as in Parliament we have had Frederick Lucas (brother-in-law of John Bright), and for years editor of *The Tablet*; Miss Braddon, Adelaide Proctor, Father Bridgett, W. Maziere Brady, Lady Herbert of Lea, Lady Fullerton, Lord Arundel of Wardour, Mr. St. George Mivart, Mr. Burnand, and the many others enumerated above, but discreetly passed over by our critic. Nor must two other items be omitted, for they have beyond doubt had considerable effect upon our position. The first of these is the faithful stand we have always and at great sacrifice made, side by side with the National Education Union, to resist the irreligious proclivities of the Board School system, as opposed to voluntary schools. The desertion of the latter in countless parishes by the clergy of the Established Church has done infinitely more towards reducing the parson to the status of a "minister" than disestablishment alone could have done. True, he could scarcely help it: the schools could not be kept open and going without

being a heavy tax upon his income. And though that income would abundantly have sufficed for one, two, or even three or more Catholic priests to carry on church and schools included, alas! too frequently schooling and feeding and clothing the inmates of the parsonage nursery were items too heavy and too numerous for the decreasing tithes and glebe lands of the several *livings*—or rather *starvings*, as one of their bishops recently termed them. But there remains the mischief all the same: the repudiation of celibacy by the clergy has ended, even by their own confession, in the godless education of the poorer classes of the laity. And as a natural result, as the parson, in point of religious teaching and training of the young, went down, the priest and his voluntary school went up. Secondly, the refusal of Catholics, notably at the late elections, to support candidates hostile to the Established Church, and bent upon its destruction, before we are ready to take its place, made an impression favourable to us far and wide. It was then clearly seen that principle, not prejudice or what is termed bigotry, was our guide; and that, acting thus upon principle, we could even forbear to join in hurling down an enemy and a usurper of our goods and rights. A higher and a holier instinct demanded of us a prolongation of our patient endurance; and while we yielded to it, others—for their eyes were now opened by self-interest—looked on at times with outspoken, at times with ill-concealed, applause.

A question ; a reply to it—and our task is done.

Has Ritualism contributed to our position ?

By preparing the English public to give up to a great extent the *quondam* national craze against rites and ceremonies *in the Church** as being little better than mummeries; by restoring, though but partially, in the Established Church, the lost ideas of sacerdotal power and sacramental grace; and by insensibly helping forward, here and there, souls in the direction of the one Church, they have certainly, both directly and indirectly, brought Catholicism to the fore. And yet many, on the other hand, have been deluded into "resting and being thankful," and, on some one of the many pleas advanced by them, continuing members of the "branch church." As a party, however, they can hardly be deemed strong either in numbers or talent. As a body, and almost to a man, their bishops are the bitterest and severest enemies of the Ritualistic clergy—a great disadvantage to men

* We have italicized these words, inasmuch as in matters of State and things municipal and social, few people have more reverence for traditional ceremonies. Indeed, it would almost seem that our Court, our courts of law, our corporations, as well as our philanthropic clubs, could not exist without them.

who put forth such strong claims to the passive obedience of their flocks. The mould of these men, too, is a striking contrast to that of their Puseyite or Newmanite (as Dr. Arnold more truthfully has styled them) predecessors. In those earlier, Tractarian days we had men whose deep research had led them on first to accept the true notion of a Church and the Priesthood and Sacraments, and who subsequently sought in ritual for the expression of their belief. Of late the reverse process would seem to have become in vogue. Men as well as women have been captivated by the ritual and its adjuncts, and the natural love of ceremonial has asserted itself; and hence, in mere consistency, the belief had to be tacked on to give sense and meaning to the rites and ceremonies. And so we see them ever in combat, prepared "to do or die" for an attitude, a ceremony, a position, an ornament, or a practice of little significance and no utility; while their views as to dogmatic truth and the Church's teaching are among themselves as diverse and unsettled as among their Evangelical brethren: probably more so.

We have kept our most influencing cause unto the last. Before and above all, we consider that a mighty power sustains and helps us on to a position in which it must ever steadily hold us; and that is the growing conviction in the now less prejudiced minds of our countrymen that Christian and Catholic are, strictly speaking, the only two synonymous terms in the nomenclature of religions. Through Nestorianism and Arianism the educated Protestant has lapsed into Deism. You have but to converse with him not only to see it, but to open his eyes to it also. He can get back his Christianity only through the Catholic Church: it is to his "stepmother," the church by iniquitous monarchs substituted in her place, that he owes his present disbelief even in the mystery of the Incarnation.

Thus have we endeavoured to give some kind of reply to this Reviewer, with some comments upon his language, his aims, and his conclusions; we have marshalled facts, as we believe them, and think that most others—notably those for whom the Reviewer writes—begin to believe them, to account for our progress and position, and for the trepidation such efforts make manifest.

E.

ART. VIII.—CAN THE SCRIPTURES ERR?

IT cannot be denied that questions connected with the interpretation of Holy Scripture are exercising many minds at the present moment, both without and within the Church. Like every other Christian dogma, the inspiration of the Bible has to face a new situation in every half-century. A dogma is an intellectual view or expression. The word of God is its source, but the mind of man is its term or recipient. And the mind of man never stands still. The individual mind lives, learns, and changes through all the years of its contact with its surroundings. The race lives, learns, and changes, as every generation comes and goes. What was latent in a general term becomes, as discussion spreads, sensible by process of analysis. What was out of sight is reached by reasoning or discourse. Discoveries in physical science destroy ancient beliefs, and new facts in history disturb received traditions. The inspiration of Holy Scripture is a dogma which is not only, like other dogmas, expressed in human terms, each of which necessarily becomes the object of the mind's analysis—the subject, if I may say so, for the mind's chemistry to act upon, to dissolve, to disintegrate, perhaps to seem to dissipate, into intangible elements. It is all this, but it has also a peculiar character arising from the vast and mysterious field which the Bible covers. No merely human philosopher would ever have dared to lay down as an article of religion that a book was inspired—much less a book so considerable, so irregular, and so difficult as the Bible. He would have seen at once that to assert this would be to commit himself to the defence of a territory every point of whose wide boundary was exposed to the attack of regular hosts and of irresponsible banditti. Yet it is a dogma of Christianity, and it is actually exposed to the kind of attack here mentioned. Logic and metaphysics have tried, and do try, their blades upon its defenders. The immense evolution of the secrets of Nature which has happened in this and the preceding generation has created a new environment for it. The unearthing of inscribed stones and other dumb witnesses of ancient life has put a new complexion upon it. And finally the science, not very truly so called, of destructive criticism, has turned the light of microscopic observation upon its minutest portions.

All this is most true of the present moment. It is of great importance, therefore, for believers to make up their minds, as far as they can be made up, what position to take as defenders of the dogma of Inspiration. As we have to fight, we may as

well fight as advantageously as possible. It is useless to contend for what is indefensible, or for what is worthless. On the other hand, there are possibilities of surrendering almost unwittingly the very key of the position.

The question which I propose to myself on the present occasion is very simply put. Can the Scriptures err? In other words, is the Christian dogma of Inspiration compatible with error in the inspired book? Whether the answer be Yes or No, the consequences must be serious. If we reply that Scripture may contain what is erroneous, we are met by the difficulty of defining the limits of the possibility of error. If we deny that the inspired word can even be mistaken, we have to face the admitted fact that many narratives and assertions of the text are now conceded to be, in their literal and traditional sense, at variance with science and perhaps with history.

Nevertheless, it would seem that the latter view must be uncompromisingly held. An inspired writer cannot err. In the words of St. Augustine:—"To the canonical Scriptures I have learnt to pay reverence and honour to the extent of believing most firmly that no writer thereof hath erred in anything. And if I meet anything in the text which seemeth contrary to truth, I shall unhesitatingly conclude either that the copy is faulty, or that the translation is mistaken, or that I do not understand."*

It seems to me that this plain and straightforward view is a necessary consequence of the great revealed truth that the Scripture is "inspired." This word "inspired" means that the Holy Spirit so moves or influences the writer that the writing or book is in a special sense the "word of God." It means that the book so written has God for its author. There are three Ecumenical Councils which have treated the point of Inspiration —viz., those of Florence, of Trent and of the Vatican. The first and the third use the actual word "inspiration;" the Fathers of Trent have left it out. At Florence—or rather in the decree of Eugenius IV. which was passed at Florence—we find the supreme authority laying down that "God is the author" of Scripture, and that the saints of both Testaments have "spoken by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost." These two expressions are evidently intended to be equivalent. And it may be noticed that the second is adopted almost literally from that passage of St. Peter (Epist. 2, i. 20) in which he declares that the holy men of God spoke, "moved or impelled by the Holy Ghost."

* "Ad Hieronymum," Ep. 82, 3. See "Historica et critica Introductio in U. T. Libros Sacros," by Father Rudolf Cornely (Paris: Lethielleux, 1885). In this paper the general conclusions of this useful and able modern Introduction to the Bible have been constantly kept in view.

The Council of Trent, although it has not used the word "inspiration," has given us two phrases which are so clearly intended to stand for it that the omission is rather instructive than otherwise. In the decree "On the Canonical Scriptures," (Session IV.) it is laid down that of both Testaments "God is the author." It is immediately added that we venerate tradition equally whether it has come from Christ's mouth or been "dictated by the Holy Ghost."

The Council of the Vatican has a much more explicit definition on this important subject. It declares, in the first place, that Holy Scripture is not holy and canonical merely in the sense that, having been produced or written by human effort, it was afterwards adopted or approved by the Church; nor again merely because it contains revelation without any admixture of error; but because "having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, it has God for its author, and as such has been delivered to the Church." This occurs in the dogmatic Constitution "Dei Filius," in the second chapter.

These expressions are only the affirmation and restatement of an ample and recognizable Catholic tradition. The well-known word which St. Paul applies to Holy Scripture—Θεόπνευστος, God-breathed—is taken up and repeated by the Fathers. So is the expression of St. Peter, "urged (or impelled) by the Holy Ghost." St. Clement of Rome calls the Scripture the "oracles of the Holy Spirit." St. Irenæus has the phrase "spoken or said" by the Word and the Spirit. The expression of Trent, "dictated," is found in an ancient writer cited by Eusebius. The Alexandrian school use "inspiration," and refer it to a "gift" or "grace" of the Holy Ghost. To omit innumerable patristic passages, we find in the inexhaustible treasury of St. Augustine such phrases as these: God made (or built) the Scriptures, God used the writers as His own hand; and St. Gregory the Great says of the Book of Job that it is of comparatively slight interest to us who wrote it, seeing that we believe the Holy Ghost to be its author; the human writer is only his pen.

There is a sense in which all truth whatever may be said to be the Word of God, and every man who speaks the truth to be God's mouthpiece and by Him inspired. It is unnecessary to say that the *catena* of testimony in regard to the Scripture, of which a few samples have been given, refers to a far more special and direct interposition of Divine power. Holy Scripture is distinguished against every other book. This much is certain. And the point of the distinction is its Divine authorship. There is a direct action or influence of the Holy Spirit on the faculties of the writer, quite distinct from the ordinary concurrence of God;

the afflatus of the divinity breathes through his mind and will ; he becomes the hand, the pen, the instrument of the Deity.*

Thus Holy Scripture has God for its immediate author ; and every theory which makes it impossible to assert as much as this must be set aside as more or less contrary to Catholic tradition. But it must be admitted that when we have got thus far there is still a great deal to do. Hardly any one affirms that the Catholic view of inspiration covers the inspiration of every word and phrase of the original. This has been asserted ; nay, it seems (as Ubaldi says) to have been the common opinion among the older theologians ; ("Introductio," vol. ii. p. 107) that is, I suppose, till the time of Bellarmin. The Anglican divines of the most learned period of Anglicanism almost unanimously taught verbal inspiration. Hooker, for example, writes thus : "He (that is, God) so employed them (the Prophets) in this heavenly work, that they neither spake nor wrote a word of their own, but uttered syllable by syllable as the Spirit put it into their mouths."† There is no doubt that as the Anglican writers simply echoed the prevailing teaching of Catholic theologians, so these latter, and the Fathers themselves, must not be taken to *define* by their expressions the question of verbal inspiration. Language which is decisive enough when used in reply to a question is often of slight value before the question has been raised or thought of. When an ante-Nicene writer said that the Word was "like" God, he did not necessarily mean that the Word was not God. Had he lived A.D. 350 and used the same phrase he would probably have been considered a heretic. Thus the Fathers and the early theological writers said that the "whole" Scripture was God's word—that there was not an "idle" word in it—that the writers were merely the hand and the pen of God—and other things of a like nature. But such phrases might almost all be construed widely enough to allow that the words and the style were outside of inspiration. When versions were discovered in greater numbers, and when the printing press multiplied copies, it is no wonder that the question of verbal inspiration began to be formulated. Cardinal Bellarmin was a far-seeing man, and his faculties were sharpened by his experi-

* I have not given references here because the general drift of Catholic tradition cannot be questioned. But the reader may find many more patristic passages and all the references in a useful little tract entitled "De Divinâ Bibliorum Inspiratione," by Dr. Joseph Crets. (Louvain : Vanlinthout. 1886.)

† Works, vol. xiv. p. 62, Ed. Keble. Cardinal Manning quotes this passage, and several others, especially a very interesting one from Whitley's "Paraphrase," in "The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost," p. 131 *sqq.*).

ence of the most famous controversy and trial of which Holy Scripture has ever been the subject. It is no wonder that he looked into the question with critical keenness, and laid down the doctrine, in which he has been followed by the whole of the Jesuit school, that Holy Scripture is to be considered as inspired only as far as regards the "things" and "sentences" or "pronouncements" which it contains, and not in respect of the "words and style." There are still a few writers who defend literal verbal inspiration, but the opinion has almost disappeared from the Catholic schools.*

We may take it as the general view, therefore, of the theological school at the present moment that the inspiration or impulse of the Holy Spirit extends at least to every utterance of the inspired writer which can be called a fact, a judgment, or an assertion. Therefore there is no fact, judgment, nor assertion of any writer in the Bible which can be called, absolutely and without qualification, erroneous or untrue. I am aware, however, that there are some Catholic writers who do go so far as to assert this. For example, Lenormant, a name which has deserved well of Christianity, has written as follows:—

What we read in the first chapters of Genesis is not a narrative dictated by God Himself, or a possession of the chosen people exclusively. . . . † [And again]: The genealogical table of Noe's descendants is a document purely human in its origin and its character. The most scrupulous orthodoxy need not decline to admit that it contains inexactitudes, mistakes.‡

Here we have, very squarely put, the position which is held, as I need not say, by nearly every Protestant commentator on Holy Scripture, and which there is some evidence will be adopted, if it can be allowed to a good Catholic, by not a few of the younger men amongst ourselves. My own view is that the position is untenable. I do not assert that it has been explicitly condemned by the Church. But, arguing from theological principles and carefully weighing the pronouncements of the gravest authorities, it seems to me we must hold, as I have just now expressed it, that no fact, judgment or assertion of any Biblical writers can be called, absolutely and without qualification, erroneous or untrue.

* It has not quite disappeared, for in the *Revista Augustiniana* during 1884, appeared a series of articles by the Rev. Father Pedro Fernandez, an Augustinian, defending the ancient view, "not without acrimony," as one of the opposite side tells us. Among living Anglican divines, the veteran Dean Burdon is the only prominent upholder of verbal inspiration.

† "Les Origines de l'Histoire d'après la Bible," i. 18.

‡ *Ibid.*, ii. 324. See Lamy, "Commentarium in Librum Geneseos," i. 59.

It is worth while to go into this a little more fully ; and there are two ways of doing so. One is to reason from admitted principles and to compare authorities; the other is to meet difficulties and to clear the ground of the more formidable objections. I propose to attempt to do both.

The nature of inspiration has been nowhere philosophically defined. But we know enough about it (as it seems to me) to assert that it is incompatible with error. What has been defined is that the whole Bible is the word of God, the "dictation of God." To say that God inspired St. Matthew means that God specially impelled St. Matthew to write the things he has written, and suggested to him what to write. He may have "revealed" the things, or He may only have turned the mind on what was already known ; either process would be compatible with inspiration. To say that St. Matthew was inspired, means that the mind and will of the Evangelist were under a special visitation or pressure of the Holy Ghost, in regard to the body or complex of written things which is called a book. This we can clearly gather to be the sense of the Fathers and the school, not to say of the Vatican Council. It is not enough that the Evangelist was protected from error. In that case we might have been able to distinguish between errors material and errors accidental, between the substance of the pronouncement and the *obiter dicta*, between divinity and narrative, between morality and fact. An Evangelist may be protected from error for a particular purpose, and his book be a human book after all. The Pope and the Councils are thus protected, but their words are human still and not divine. Their pronouncements are not the word of God, as the Bible is. On the other hand, our Lord Jesus Christ, when *He* deigned to speak to the world, spoke what was the utterance of God. Not only can we conceive no error in what He said regarding the divine objects for which He preached, but it would be impossible to think (knowing who He is) that He could ever make the slightest mistake in any matter whatsoever — logic, metaphysics, history, or science. Now the voice of the Biblical writer is the immediate voice of God. Thus only can we interpret Catholic tradition. It would be almost as impossible to say that a writer thus inspired could err as to say that our Lord Himself could err ; because in both instances we have the immediate word of God. *Almost* as impossible ; because there is a difference. When our Divine Lord spoke, He not only spoke by the Holy Spirit, but He used a body and organs which were perfect in themselves, and perfectly under the control of the Spirit; and therefore we rightly consider that every word He spoke was, as He uttered it, the most perfectly suitable word which could possibly be used. But with the writers

of the Bible it was different. The Holy Spirit was the speaker ; but He had to use instruments—brain, nerves, and tongue—which might be very imperfect indeed. The power of strong and beautiful expression comes partly from Nature and partly from culture. It seems to consist chiefly in three things : adequate analysis, striking analogy, and appreciation of the environment. That is to say, a man writes better in proportion as he can say the thing more exactly, with a more striking word-picture, and with better adaptation to the “dignity” of the subject and the state of the hearer. The writers of the Bible naturally fell short of perfection in all these points, and as naturally differed considerably one from another. Now, it is not inconceivable that the Holy Spirit, in speaking through these writers, should have so strengthened or perfected their brain and organs as to make them the absolutely perfect expression of His message, even to the most minute verbal felicity, and the highest grandeur of language. This would, however, have been a miracle—that is, a disturbance of the visible order of Nature. The theological canon is that a miracle must never be had recourse to when a miracle is not clearly evident. It does not seem evident, and it does not seem necessary to hold, that any such miracle as this took place. One may reply that the miracle of inspiration is by itself so great an interference of the Almighty that verbal inspiration would have been an infinitesimal addition. But inspiration is not a miracle in this technical sense, just as grace is not a miracle ; the hand of God is not visible or sensible ; He works on the spirit only. To have given the writers verbal perfection would have been to act on and alter their imagination, the configuration of their brain, the play of their nerves ; and this would have been an interference of the same class as the straightening of the crooked back or the loosing of the fettered tongue. Therefore it would not seem necessary to hold verbal inspiration. The surface of the Bible itself confirms us in this view. For if we hold verbal inspiration we should have to explain how it is that Isaias writes so differently from Amos, why the books of the Machabees seem to fall below the dignity of the Psalms, and why one Evangelist describes differently from another. I do not say this could not be satisfactorily done. But it does not seem to be necessary. As long as the *sense* is fully and fairly there, the word is the word of God. As long as the proportions, the lights and shades, the essential colour of the picture are there, it does not materially affect it that the outlines should be a little hazy, that the canvas should tremble, or the mist of an earthly medium should fatigue the eye of the gazer. But I strongly maintain indeed, with the universal tradition of the Catholic Church, that there is in the Bible, in a most true sense, verbal inspiration. There are

passages in which grand dogmas are put into human words, deep mysteries shadowed forth, and mighty sacraments defined. At such times it is an instinct of the believer to hold that the very words are the immediate inspiration and revelation of God. Yet, with St. Augustine, we must beware of laying too much stress on this. Mere sounds and letters are not the object and purpose of the awful utterances of the Spirit. The names of holy things, the expressions of action or passion, even supposing that the Hebrew or the Greek terms for them had been chosen by Divine inspiration, would have been of little use to the world at large. If the voice of God was to reach the universal world of every age and century, His word must be so delivered as to be equally His word in a translation as in the original. The seven words in the eleventh chapter of Isaías, which are used by the prophet, in order to describe the fullness of the operation of the Holy Ghost on a human soul, are without doubt directly inspired; but they are probably no more inspired in their Hebrew form than in their Greek, or in Greek than in Latin and English. When sanctifying grace is described as life, as beauty, as a garment, these words are inspired; but not as mere sounds or vocables, but rather as to the reality they express—a reality which is readily recognized in every language that men employ. Much more clearly true is this of those plain and common words which are used in sacramental formulas. As St. Jerome says, it is not the syllables and the letters but the sense, not the words but the meaning, which we must attend to in reading the Bible.* And in the phrase of St. Augustine there are no “consecrated sounds;” what we are concerned with, are the “things.”† I cannot help thinking that the controversy about verbal inspiration has been the consequence, to a large extent, of not coming to an explanation as to terms. The Fathers speak, as far as their words, on both sides; and the same Father sometimes is found to state both the negative and the affirmative.‡ What is a “word?” On the one side, it is the coinage of the brain; on the other, it is the token or counter of a reality. It so happens that half a dozen or more of these coins or tokens may equally well represent, for all practical purposes, the same reality. In so far as the words of

* “Epistola ad Pammachium” (33 al. 101).

† “De Consensu Evangelistarum,” ii. 66.

‡ Compare, for example, with the passages of St. Jerome from the Epistle to Pammachius, referred to above, what he says in his Commentary on the Sixth Chapter of St. Matthew, that “every word, syllable, apex and point in the Divine Scriptures is full of meaning and breathes heavenly mysteries.” And St. Augustine himself goes so far as to say that we should read the Gospel, “as if we saw the very Hand of our Lord which belonged to His own body writing it.” (“De Consensu Evang.” i. 35.)

Scripture, then fairly and adequately represent what they are used to represent, they are of God. In so far as the human instrument, using its natural means, produces this word rather than that, the word of Scripture is human. And as there are occasions when almost any word, however colourless, will do, so there are others when a word must be chosen so carefully that the vicissitudes of translation will not materially affect its meaning, nor the varieties of human intelligence dim its intelligibility. Thus there may be inspiration in some words, whilst there is divine assistance, though of a negative kind, in all.

If even verbal inspiration cannot be rejected without such qualifications as these, it is very clear how we are compelled to maintain that every fact and judgment or proposition of Holy Scripture must be inspired. If there were any exception, the Scripture could no longer be the word of God. We should have a book in which the divine afflatus was intermittent. We should have a cloud every now and then passing over the sun and casting a shadow on the earth. When we find that the dogmatic Catholic expression is that Scripture is God's word or writing or dictation, the phrase means that the whole of every line is God's words or writing. I do not try to prove this by the words of the Councils, that the Scripture "with all its parts," or the books of the Bible "with all their parts," are God's word. The phrase "with all their parts" seems to have been put in to meet the error of those who rejected a substantial part of the Old or New Testament, such as a part of the Book of Daniel, or the last verses of St. Mark. What is here maintained seems to be simply the consequence of the dogmatic sentence referred to. For if we admit any intermission of inspiration we admit the interpolation of the word of a man. But there is no sign in all antiquity that, in the genuine Scripture, the stream of inspiration has ever been held to be otherwise than continuous. The idea has always been that genuine Scripture is like a letter written by a particular writer—when you say he wrote it you mean he wrote it all. A letter of Cicero is so called because it is considered to be wholly Cicero's composition. If any part of it were proved to be by another hand it would be taken out as corrupt. So, if in any version of Scripture Catholic tradition has discovered an interpolation, she has denied it to Scripture. She has not said "This may be Scripture, but perhaps not inspired," for such an idea is utterly unknown to her. Inspiration, then, and Scripture are words which cover the same ground; what is Scripture is *ipso facto* inspired, is the word of God, is written by God, is dictated by the Holy Ghost.

But there is a slight reservation which must be noted here. Some Catholic authors do seem to admit that certain minute

circumstances related in the Bible may not fall within the boundary of inspiration. Dr. Ubaldi, a grave Roman professor, lately deceased, writes thus in his "Introductio":—"As regards certain minute details of (the Biblical) narratives, not affecting the substance of the facts, perhaps Inspiration in its true and proper sense would be superfluous, and it would be sufficient to assume negative assistance—such assistance, that is to say, as should simply make mistake impossible."* I must confess I cannot clearly see any necessity for an hypothesis of this kind. The divine "breathing" affects the whole narrative. Why should we restrict it? Are we to be ashamed of seeming to assert that the Holy Ghost concerns himself with trifles? But what are trifles? As St. Jerome says, in the *prolegomena* to the Epistle to Philemon: "He who made the great things, made the little things also; the same God who made the heavens and the earth made the ant and the worm." It might be some excuse for maintaining such a theory, if we thereby managed to get rid of a difficulty; but these writers do not venture to assert the possibility of *mistake*, they only suggest the absence of true inspiration. So that whatever difficulties spring from the presence of these fringes of narrative and outward rind of facts, we have to face them all the same.

The Catholic tradition, therefore, seems to be that the Bible cannot err in any statement, judgment, or matter of fact, even in the slightest. I have quoted St. Jerome and St. Augustine. As for modern Catholic writers, the reader may consult Lamy, "In Pentateucham." i. 61; Franzelin, "De Traditione et Scripturâ," 273, *sqq.*; Knoll, "Theologia Generalis;" Ubaldi, "Introductio in S. Scripturam," Tom. ii. pp. 14-123; Bacuez et Vigouroux "Manuel Biblique," i. 32-66; and Cardinal Manning, "The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost," pp. 155-164. With the single reserve, which I have stated in the words of Ubaldi, these representative writers, and others who could readily be named, strenuously maintain that it is a Catholic doctrine that the Bible, as being the word of God, cannot err in anything. They do not assert that this has been explicitly defined as *de fide*. But they argue that it follows immediately from defined premisses. They would consider the proposition to be therefore virtually contained in what is an article of faith, though possibly it might not be of faith *quoad hunc vel illum*.

Therefore, the plain and straight truth seems to be, that any person who flatly and absolutely denies the truth of a passage of the Bible, be it teaching or be it narrative, is wanting in his duty to the Catholic faith; and any apparent fact of history or

* Tom. ii. p. 114.

science which thus contradicts the Bible must be no more than an apparent fact, and not really true.

It will now be necessary to enter into certain explanations which must be clearly kept in view when there is any question of the antagonism of the Bible and of fact. The Church knows well enough that such a controversy has existed from the beginning; she knows that it presses upon her at this moment, as it will do until the consummation of all things. But she is anxious that before she is expected to fight the ground should be thoroughly cleared. She does not want to be saddled with Scripture which is not Scripture, or with Biblical meanings which have no foundation in the text of the Bible.

And the first point to which attention may be directed concerns a very obvious matter. We say the Bible cannot err. But we mean that it cannot err in what it says as *its own*; we do not say so much as to what it quotes others as saying. That a great deal of what the inspired writer cites or quotes is inspired cannot be denied. When God speaks, or when solemn and grave utterances of holy men are given, or when the speaker is said to be "full of the Holy Ghost" or "of wisdom"—in all such instances we rightly admit inspiration in the words cited. But it must be confessed there is no certain rule which will clear up every difficulty that may arise on this head. For instance, the Book of Job, if we except the prologue and the epilogue, is a poetical dialogue, or dramatic poem, in which Job and his four friends discuss the causes of his affliction, and the Almighty interferes and decides the dispute. The prologue and the epilogue are inspired without doubt; and so must be those words which are attributed to God Himself. But what about the manifold utterances of the four disputants? Some of them are certainly not inspired utterances; very far from it. On the other hand, many things which they have uttered are constantly quoted as Divine Scripture. Is there any possibility of finding a criterion? It would seem that there is none to be found, except what we may call the "analogies of Scripture" and common sense. Literary form makes an author responsible for what the ordinary reader can gather to be his own opinions, however they may be expressed. We know, in a general way, what the end and purpose the writer of Job had in view when he wrote; and the form of the book helps us, at least to a certain degree, to understand what he approves and what he does not. We may take it, then, that what he approves is inspired.

The next thing calling for notice is that, as a matter of fact, there is no such thing as an inspired *version* of the Bible. The Church has declared the Vulgate to be *authentic*. That is, the Vulgate is a truly genuine source of revelation, in so far that not

only can no error in faith or morality be deduced from it, but that it faithfully gives everything which belongs to the *substance* of the *written word*. It cannot, therefore, be admitted to contain any mistakes in dogma or in morality, or in anything else as far as the substance goes. But in numbers and names, and other matters of that kind, there may not only be mistakes, but there are, in fact, contradictory parallel passages in the Vulgate itself. By the decree of authenticity the Council seems to declare that directly dogmatic texts—"ad confirmando dogmata et instaurandos in ecclesiâ mores"—are contained in the authorized edition of the Vulgate as they stood in the ancient Vulgate used in the Church from the beginning. But the Council refrains from declaring this with regard to other texts and propositions. As to the body of the Vulgate, therefore, reserve being made of dogmatic texts, all we are bound to hold is that the version is not substantially different from the original—that it cannot be pronounced *unauthentic*. Nay, there may be even some dogmatic texts which were in the ancient Vulgate and in ecclesiastical use, and yet not to be found in the edition approved by the Council of Trent. Since the date of the Council's approbation, the Vulgate has been corrected in hundreds of places, and will probably be corrected still more freely in the future.

I now pass to the consideration of the authorship of the Bible, and the question of the date of the various books. I have now lying before me Mr. P. H. Wicksteed's translation of Professor Kuenen's "Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch" (Macmillan & Co. 1886). Probably this book may be considered to be, so far, the high-water mark of the destructive criticism on the historical books of the Bible. Kuenen, after revelling in a wilderness of conjecture, comparison, analysis, and "provisional conclusions" of every kind, lays down at the end of his volume that the Hexateuch was "produced" by the "Corporation of Priests" of Jerusalem before the year 400 B.C. The question thus arises for Catholics, whether we can admit a theory of this kind, which seems at once to deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and its genuine historical character? The answer does not seem difficult. Putting on one side the alleged errors in history, and contradictions or impossibilities in other statements, which must be dealt with on principles already partially laid down, it does not seem allowable to deny in general terms that Moses wrote the books usually ascribed to him. The chief and sufficient reason is that our Lord asserts that they were written by Moses. Our Lord calls the Pentateuch, in general terms, the "book of Moses" (Mark xii. 26) and the "law of Moses" (Luke xxiv. 44); He asserts that "Moses commanded" the lepers (Matt. viii. 4), that "Moses permitted" a bill of

divorce (Matt. xix. 8), that Moses "said" and "wrote" several things which He cites from the Pentateuch ; and in one striking passage He introduces Moses as ready personally to accuse and condemn those Jews who refused to accept what he had "written" of the Messias (John v. 45-47). It would seem, therefore, to be utterly un-Catholic to deny that Moses wrote the Pentateuch ; in other words, we are bound to assert in general terms that Moses was its author. And I may add that in one circumstance at least we must unhesitatingly hold that Moses wrote this or that particular passage ; I mean when, in the text of the Pentateuch, he is asserted to have written this or that. But it will be readily granted by all theologians that the obligation to assert the Mosaic authorship of this part of the Bible is of such a wide and indefinite character that it necessarily leaves great liberty to commentators. We need not deny, for instance, that Moses used and incorporated documents much older than his own day ; nor that certain substantial parts were added after his death, like the latter portion of Deuteronomy ; nor that many historical, archaeological, and geographical notes have been added by later hands ; nor even, as far as I can see, that considerable liberties were taken with the order and arrangement of the various parts of the text by Nehemias and Esdras. All this, it will be observed, is quite apart from the question of the *inspiration* of the Pentateuch. Whoever wrote it, it is inspired, and the writer was inspired. As to who the writer was, my own view is, as I have said, that it can never be allowable to a Catholic to accept the "destructive" criticism so far as to make it impossible for Moses to be held in a popular, literary, and more or less indefinite sense, its real author. In discussing the objections, therefore, which writers like Kuenen bring forward, there are two guide-posts for the Catholic interpreter : the first is that the Hexateuch is inspired, and the second that his general conclusion as to its authorship is inadmissible. As to his particular points, there is a good deal, no doubt, to be learnt from his carping, his prying, and his dissecting. I must confess that to me his book proves far too much ; it has the same effect on me as the very learned efforts that are made from time to time to force on an unwilling generation the Wolfian theory of the Homeric poems. There are a number of proved improbabilities, making the popular view, no doubt, somewhat improbable. The improbabilities are not only small in themselves, but they in many instances neutralize one another. The opposition hypothesis, if I may use the phrase, is weak, rickety, invertebrate, gelatinous—anything but complete and consistent. And I think we may confidently expect, as regards the Hexateuch, that, whatever may be the number of points made by the destructive school—which we are

quite ready to discuss—the time will never come when, in the opinion of impartial critics and the world in general, they have demolished the Catholic view, much less that they have succeeded in setting up a tenable view of their own.

In regard to the authorship of other portions of the Bible, what is here said may be equally applied to the consideration of difficulties arising in their regard. Space does not here allow me to enter into them. The Church has never defined that particular books are to be ascribed to the authors whose names they bear. It is quite possible that in some instances, as I have shown in regard to the Pentateuch, there may be other reasons which require us to accept the popular view; this is a matter for determination in each case on its own merits.

Having made these explanations in regard to the text of the Bible, and to its authorship, it is now necessary to speak more directly on the views of Biblical inspiration which seem at the present moment to be threatening to take root in the present generation of cultivated English speaking Catholics. What I have to say may be best introduced by a citation from Dr. St. George Mivart's article in the *Nineteenth Century* on "The Catholic Church and Biblical Criticism." He says: *—

No one at present knows what the term "inspiration" really signifies. . . . If, then, Catholics at present are free to hold as inspired, in some undefined sense of that word, only certain portions or passages, of the books set before them as canonical, then no difficulty to faith can arise from any historical research whatever, and no detriment to science can spring from any such religious belief.

It may not, perhaps, be permissible to assert that this sentence represents the writer's own views. But it looks very like it; and, undoubtedly, to say the least, it represents a view which he thinks tenable. I suppose my reading has lain in a somewhat different direction from that of the distinguished biologist, but I cannot find words to express how utterly and absurdly this magazine pronouncement seems to me to differ from the whole drift of the weighty and repeated words of the Fathers and the great theologians of every age of the Catholic Church. The only question as to inspiration, which these authorities allow to be in any sense open, is whether or no every actual word was or was not the "breathing" of the Deity. In all the variety of "versions" they do not admit that there can be any substantial discrepancy with the original. The great saints, who are the pillars of the Church, have almost worshipped the "very hand" of God as He dictated the volume which contained His word. And we have here the assertion, after all that has been written,

* July 1887, p. 48.

that no one knows what inspiration is, and that only "parts" of the Bible are inspired! Had he said that inspiration was not rigorously defined by the Church, we need not have demurred; for there are open questions about it. Had he said that the Church's definition was one thing and the *catena* of Catholic traditional teaching another, we might have understood even this in an allowable sense. But he ought to have known—or if he did not know he ought to have kept silent—that if the view here laid down is admitted, there is not a Father of the Church or one of the great theologians, or any Catholic professor of the present day, who will not have to be thrown over. Difficulties, no doubt, there are in abundance, which must be met as best they may; difficulties arising from the matter, the form, and the version of the Bible, as well as from the action of the Church in regard to its interpretation. But all these difficulties put together do not amount to a fraction of the difficulty there would be if we had to admit that only a part of the Bible is inspired, and that no one knows what inspiration is. To say that there are slight blemishes and excrescences in the existing versions is what we all say; to say that inspiration is not adequately [and strictly *ex cathedra*] defined, is, I repeat, most certain; and to say that practical doubts may therefore arise, in view of profane history, and archæological research, and the advance of science, in our dealing with this or that passage of the Bible—all this I am the foremost to admit. But to say that "only portions" of the Bible may be inspired—meaning considerable and substantial portions—is to throw the Divine Scripture into the midst of the rationalist pack who are clamouring to tear it to pieces. If our men of science are to defend the faith with weapons no better than this, we must only pray to be saved from their patronage.

As to the reasons which may have led Dr. Mivart, or any one else, to formulate such a view, it appears to me that they may be divided into two classes—first, that the Bible is demonstrably untrustworthy as history; and secondly, that its language contradicts science. As I am most anxious—in the spirit, as I conceive it, of Catholic freedom—to concede as much as ought to be conceded, it may be well to put down the following view of Biblical history. We are bound to accept the historical facts put down in the Bible; but these facts may in many cases be very freely interpreted as to their real bearing. Historical assertion in the Bible is not always clear. A passage which seems to be history may be a poem, or an allegory, or otherwise very obscure in its terms. Thus the first chapter of Genesis may be very freely commented, because it is by no means clear that it is pure and simple history. The narrative of the Deluge, though it cannot be considered an allegory or a poem, is very obscure; the words

commonly translated "world," "floodgates of heaven," "ark," &c., may represent very inadequately what really happened. The absolute universality of the flood was no doubt at one time accepted, in the absence of any definite physical idea of what the earth was like, just as the popular mind considers the sun in the evening to be above the horizon when it is really below it; in both cases the mental adhesion being of a negative and virtually provisional character, and the mind being ready to modify it on the slightest discovery of any reason. Then, again, the assertion that Adam's body was formed from the dust is not clear; there is a parallel passage elsewhere saying the very same thing of every human being. With regard to such expressions as the "rib," the "apple," the "serpent," Paradise and its rivers, the flaming sword of the Angel, the walking of God in the garden, and His converse with our first parents, and many other phrases of the mysterious record of Genesis, there never has been an attempt on the part of the Church to restrain any method of interpretation which did not, by explaining the narrative away altogether, destroy the material foundation on which the edification of the mind must rest. As St. Augustine says:—"I admonish and as far as may be I command, that when you listen to the exposition of Scriptural narrative, you first and foremost believe that the thing happened as it is written down, lest you destroy the foundation of fact and so build in the air."* And St. Gregory the Great, a mind who eminently represents Catholic tradition, says:—"I am most anxious that he who endeavours to elevate the mind to spiritual intelligence, should not depart from the reverence due to history."† And this short sentence of St. Thomas is worth remembering:—"The spiritual sense is *always* founded on the literal and flows from it."‡ But the exact archæological meaning of the letter of the Bible, though an inspired meaning, is frequently of very secondary import, and within certain limits may be freely discussed. Spiritual edification is the primary purpose of Holy Scripture. This does not mean that the literal historic meaning falls outside of inspiration; but it means that this literal meaning is, in Holy Scripture as in any history, left in great measure to be found out by ordinary methods of interpretation; in such sort that it may be hard to find out, that it may be at times wrongly understood, and that there may be disagreement and obscurity to the end. When, with these explanations, we remember that in every version, however authentic, there are admittedly a very large number of mistakes in details, such as names, numbers,

* "De Tentatione Abrahæ," serm. 2, 7, Migne xxxviii. 40.

† "Moralia," i. 37; Migne lxxv. 534.

‡ "Quodlibet," VII. quæst. 6, art. 16.

tenses and parts of speech, it is clear that, without in any way circumscribing inspiration, very great freedom is left to the Catholic interpreter.

I can imagine one of my readers objecting that an admission of this kind seems to destroy, for all practical purposes, the view that the Bible is wholly inspired throughout; there being no possibility of our ever seeing the perfectly genuine original text; it would seem, therefore, that after all I hold the theory of partial inspiration. But the distinction is obvious. First, the only kind of error admissible in any authorized version would be a slight and unimportant mistake. For instance, we should allow errors in the patriarchal chronology, but not to the extent of making the succession or existence of the patriarchs unhistorical. Next, in all these cases—and there are an immense number—in which no suspicion of mistake could be proved, we should hold that we have the actually inspired passage. As to the residuum—the passages in which mistake might be detected—their inspiration, as they stand, would certainly be denied. But then it would not be denied because error and inspiration are compatible, but precisely because such passages were not the words of the inspired writer at all.

Perhaps the most formidable class of difficulties which seem to render the inspiration of the Bible indefensible in the sense spoken of in these pages, is that which concerns the divergence between Scripture and modern science. And yet I cannot, for my own part, see the reason for one-tenth part of the clamour which is raised by scientific men. No doubt, much may be explained by the spirit in which too many scientific writers approach the question of conciliation. To reconcile science with the text of the Bible is in all cases a work of patience, and in many a work of labour and anxiety. The Catholic undertakes it because he loves and reverences the Word of God. The revelation of the Deity has been given to the world in the humble setting of human speech—speech which is, and must be, inadequate in significance and feeble in expression; speech which cannot be altered as each new generation arrives, but which is coloured by the interminable succession of human minds as the earth and sky are coloured by the light of each successive hour from dawn till evening. The Heavenly Father, who sent His Son in the garb of frail flesh, and has committed every detail of that Sacred Humanity to the loving care and guardianship of His Church, imposes the same solicitude on His servants in defence of His written Word. The Catholic apologist starts with the faith and conviction that the Scripture is inspiration. Whatever may be proved or disproved—whatever realms may be discovered in earth, or air, or under the earth—nothing can make the Bible aught else

than the Word of God. Chemistry, geology, biology—even, were it possible, history herself—must be stunted, or decay or perish, if there is no way for them to flourish except on the ruins of inspiration. But the man of science has usually other thoughts. He does not believe in inspiration, or in revelation of any kind. To him his “facts” are sacred; and he might be forgiven for holding them so, were it not that the real, solid, God-created facts are mixed up with an army of phantoms—names and terms which conceal half-knowledge, conjecture, and inadequate definition. Inspiration being of no consequence, and his motley array of “facts” being his sole and sacred anxiety—and man’s spirit being what it is—the man of science comes with a bias to the work of reconciliation. He comes, not with the bias of faith, which is a reasonable, a just, and a praiseworthy bias, but with that of unbelief and antagonism. But if the scientific inquirer is a Catholic, it is surely not too much to require that he should show that he is a Catholic first and a man of science in the second place. He will say, perhaps, that no man reverences the Bible more than he who endeavours to prove it free from falsehood and absurdity. That is so; but when the spirit of the self-styled champion is to throw overboard the very treasure which he ought to protect, it is not wonderful if we should suspect the genuineness of his devotion.

The grand rule of all Biblical interpretation in matters that belong to science and to concrete fact generally, is that the writers of the Bible describe *phenomena*, and do not attempt to theorize or define. As St. Thomas briefly says, they “go by what appears outwardly.”* This rule explains almost every contradiction that can be alleged. No one is so foolish as to say that when a man speaks of the “rising” or the “setting” of the sun, he must be held to assert that the sun moves. The whole physical system of the Bible is merely the statement or transcription of phenomena. Not being intended as a textbook of science, but as an instructor in spiritual life, its references to natural history, to zoology, to the heavens, the earth and the waters, are inspired, indeed, and therefore in no way false, but still by no means always the whole truth. No word of man can possibly speak *the whole truth* on any scientific matter whatever. The Bible says the sun moves; the man of science says it stands still; but probably that immobility itself is only phenomenal, and the sun sways slowly, in obedience to some more mighty force, altering the configuration of its attendant system as the ages roll on. Without a most inconceivable miracle, the Holy

* “Ea sequuntur quæ sensibiliter apparent” (“Summa Theol.” I. quest. 70, art. 1, ad 3).

Spirit could not have inspired men's minds to form adequate and perfectly complete verbal transcripts of astronomical and chemical facts. Nay, it would be more true to say that no miracle and no language could have done it. These sciences will never have revealed their last secret till doom itself shall come. All word-pictures of God's unfathomable creation must be made out of what appears to the senses. And the time may come when the word-pictures of Genesis and of the Psalms will seem to a future generation as near the scientific truth as those of Tyndall or Secchi; just as distant ships at sea, between which miles of water are rolling, seem to sail on peacefully together. To a philosopher, therefore, the word-pictures of the Scriptures are perfectly *true*, though not the whole truth.

It cannot be denied that there have been many instances in which the general Catholic view has held an interpretation of Scripture which better information has caused Catholics to repudiate. As to this, two things may be said: first, a general acquiescence in a physical view or in the reading of an unimportant fact is not part of the tradition of faith; and secondly, a large number of imperfectly instructed persons will always be found to confuse theology with fact. Many persons thought that the heliocentric theory was part of faith and the literal universality of the Deluge—just as some men think that the instantaneous miraculous formation of Adam's body is part of the faith. We have to count with this difficulty. Catholics have been, in the words of St. Augustine, more or less "silly" and "rash" on these matters in every age of Christianity.* But I think it can be made tolerably clear that instructed Catholics invariably, when the question was put, recognize a great distinction between matters physical and theological, even when they use similar expressions in regard to both. When a writer of the seventeenth century says that it is just as much a matter of faith that the earth stands still as it is that Isaac is the son of Abraham—both being inspired statements—it seems evident that, supposing some one had put doubt into his mind as to the possibility of the term "standing still" being inadequate, or not clear, he would have said, "I will waive for the moment what its exact meaning may be, though for the present I see no reason to hesitate about that, and I will simply say that whatever it does mean it is true and inspired, for my chief anxiety is to insist that Holy Scripture is equally inspired in all that it says." This is what Cardinal Bellarmin actually says,

* "Delirare . . . temerarii præsumptores" ("De Genesi ad literam," i. 19, Migne xxxiv. 261 sq.)

almost in so many words, in a celebrated letter.* For the unanimous voice of Catholic tradition and the unanimous interpretation of the Fathers are rules that are binding only in matters of faith and morality. This restriction is admitted by every Catholic. It was formulated by the Council of Trent, and renewed by the Council of the Vatican. Cardinal Pallavicini's words are very striking :—

Although in questions of faith and morals it is wrong to reject the interpretations which the universal body of the Fathers have adopted, yet there is still a very wide field indeed for the exercise of the mind in Biblical commentary, for there is no reason why the opinions of the Fathers should be followed in matters which do not affect faith and morals, such as history, natural science, and other things of a similar nature.†

At the Council of the Vatican an attempt was made to have the restrictive words omitted. It seemed to some of the bishops that they allowed too much liberty. But the answer of the eminent theologian in charge of the Constitution was that, in the case of historical interpretations, they were either against the dogma of the complete inspiration of Holy Scripture, or they were not ; if the first, they came under the Church's power and ban ; if the second, they were a matter of free discussion.‡

In concluding this brief paper, which is more of a protest than a reasoned dissertation, I would draw attention to one or two features of Dr. Mivart's Biblical position as shown in his reply to Mr. Justice Stephen.§ As to the merits of that controversy I am certainly not one of those who thought that Dr. Mivart had the worst of it. I wish he had mentioned the word faith a little oftener ; for there is a slight suspicion about the article that Dr. Mivart thinks he has reasoned himself into Catholicism ; that it is simply his reason that keeps him within its fold, and that he might possibly see reason to quit it. As to this latter possibility, the suspicion arises from the passage in which he avows that if the Church defined anything which could be conclusively demonstrated by science to be false, he would withdraw his belief in revelation. He does add that it would be "practically" impossible to suppose he could ever be sure of such a case. But the Catholic instinct would surely be to reject as a sin the very suggestion that such a case could be possible—I mean the combination of an absolutely demonstrated truth and

* See Rev. W. Roberts, "The Pontifical Decrees," p. 118.

† Hist. Conc. Trident. vi. 15, No. 3.

‡ "Acta et decreta Concil. Vaticani," Coll. Lacensis, vii. c. 240.

§ *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1887.

the Church's contradictory pronouncement. For faith, however it begins on its human side—and it begins on evidence—is a clinging of the will, supported by grace. Justice Stephen says, with some point, that Dr. Mivart thinks so poorly of the Scripture as a historical document that his acceptance of revelation must rest on his own intuitions. Now it is true, Catholicism does not rest on the New Testament, and it is true also that Dr. Mivart enters into an elaborate and most able statement of the grounds of his acceptance of Catholicism. But still, an article which ignores the theological gift and virtue of faith to the extent to which it is ignored in this reply, raises the suspicion—which I confine most strictly to the article as it stands, without in any way of course casting it on Dr. Mivart personally—of rationalistic views. No one can adequately answer a rationalistic critic without inviting him to consider the evidence there is of the existence of a special gift for seeing Christian truths and for personally remaining unaffected by rationalistic difficulties. An apologist who is reticent when he “sees the heavens opened” is not of the stamp of the ancient witnesses and saints. And Dr. Mivart makes the reading of his clever paper still more ungrateful. It is hard to see what he would hold to, in his very free handling of the New Testament. The resurrection, he tells us, is a dogma, and he accepts it; but he does think himself obliged to accept the mental picture framed by his imagination from the Gospel narrative. In the same way, the ascension means simply that Christ is no longer with us. The garden, the tomb, the earthquake, and the angels—the journey to Olivet, the voices of the heavenly messenger, and the bright cloud—these are circumstances, it would seem, which we can believe or not, just as we feel impelled. Dr. Mivart thinks that in many points the Gospel narratives contain features which distinctly make the acceptance of certain revealed doctrines more difficult. There is a sense, no doubt, in which this is true; but what Catholic should say it without adding the obvious reflection that the divine light of these sacred details illuminates more than it obscures? And finally, Dr. Mivart takes the opportunity of repeating what he has “twice before” declared, that “freedom has now been happily gained for Catholics; for all science—geology, biology, sociology, political economy, history, and Biblical criticism—for whatever, in fact, comes within the reach of human inductive reason and is capable of verification.”* This is just one of those too wide and therefore misleading assertions which I have before deplored as unfortunate. There is no such thing as any com-

* *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1887, p. 863.

plete freedom of this kind : he acknowledges as much himself when he admits the existence of the miraculous in Christianity.

Let me urge, to the best of my power, on our Catholic students to begin the study of the Scriptures from divine faith and from divine inspiration. They are not to be wrangled about like the text of Horace or Juvenal. They are not to be received from the defiled hands of unbelief, or submitted to the judgment of those who lack the humility and obedience which alone can help man to their comprehension. Patristic science and the accomplishments of a Biblical scholar are very desirable ; and a lifetime spent in studying the Bible is not a lifetime thrown away. But the Bible does not stand by scholarship, and it will not fall by criticism. What is most to be prayed for is that no child of the Church allow a dishonouring thought to disturb his reverence for the Divine Word, much less that he lift his hand against what Catholic tradition has cherished in all the ages past.*

JOHN CUTHBERT HEDLEY, O.S.B.

* Catholic scholarship is often reproached in modern times for neglecting to answer in detail such writers as Wellhausen and Kuennen. For my part, to mention no others, I think that Archbishop Smith ("The Pentateuch") has really cut away the ground from Wellhausen; and for an answer to more recent and detailed criticism, every one may now read Father Cornely's three large and closely printed volumes of "Introduction."

ROMAN CONDEMNATION OF ROSMINI'S PROPOSITIONS.

WE give the text of the forty propositions condemned by the Congregation of the Inquisition, together with the letter of Cardinal Monaco to the Bishops. The Latin text is followed by the Italian parallels, which are also official.

Illīe ac R̄mē Domine

Hisce adiunctum litteris transmittitur ad Amplitudinem Tuam decretum generale, quo Suprema Congregatio Em̄orum Patrum una cum Inquisitorum Generalium, adprobante et confirmante SS̄mo Domino Nostro Leone XIII, plures propositiones ex operibus, quae sub nomine Antonii Rosmini Serbati edita sunt, damnantur et proscribuntur. Quapropter excitatur pastoralis cura et vigilantia Amplitudinis Tuae, ut a damnatis huiusmodi doctrinis oves fidei tuae concretitas quam diligentissime custodias; ac si qui forte sint in ista dioecesi qui illis adhuc faveant, eos ad S. Sedis iudicium docili animo recipiendum inducere studeas. Praecipue vero eniteris, ut mentes adolescentium, eorum praesertim qui in spem Ecclesiae in Seminario aluntur, germana catholicae Ecclesiae doctrina e puris fontibus Sanctorum Patrum Ecclesiae Doctorum, probatorum auctorum, ac praecipue Angelici Doctoris S. Thomae Aquinatis hausta imbuantur.

Tibi interim fausta omnia ac felicia precor a Domino.

Datum Romae die 7 Martii 1888.

Addictissimus in Domino

R. CARD. MONACO.

FERIA IV, DIE 14 DECEMBRIS 1887.

Post obitum Antonii Rosmini Serbati quaedam eius nomine in lucem prodierunt scripta, quibus plura doctrinae capita, quorum germina in prioribus huius Auctoris libris continebantur, clarius evolvuntur atque explicantur. Quae res accuratiora studia non hominum tantum in theologicis ac philosophicis disciplinis praestantium, sed etiam Sacrorum in Ecclesia Antistitutum excitarunt. Hi non paucas propositiones, quae catholicae veritati haud consonae videbantur, ex posthumis praesertim illius libris exscriperunt, et Supremo S. Sedis iudicio subiecerunt.

Porro SS̄mus D. N. Leo divina providentia Papa XIII, cui maxime curae est, ut depositum catholicae doctrinae ab erroribus immune purumque servetur, delatas propositiones Sacro consilio Em̄orum Patrum Cardinalium in universa christiana republica Inquisitorum Generalium examinandas commisit.

Quare, uti mos est Supremae Congregationis, instituto diligentissimo examine, factaque earum propositionum collatione cum reliquis Auctoris doctrinis, prout potissimum ex posthumis libris elucescunt, propositiones quae sequuntur in proprio Auctoris sensu reprobandas damnandas ac

proscribendas esse iudicavit, prout hoc generali decreto reprobat, damnat, proscriptit; quin exinde cuiquam deducere liceat, ceteras eiusdem Auctoris doctrinas, quae per hoc decretum non damnantur, ullo modo adprobari.

Facta autem de his omnibus SSmo D. N. Leoni XIII accurate relatione, Sanctitas Sua decretum Emorum Patrum adprobavit, confirmavit, atque ab omnibus servari mandavit.

1. In ordine rerum creatarum immediate manifestatur humano intellectui aliquid divini in se ipso, huiusmodi nempe quod ad divinam naturam pertineat.

2. Cum divinum dicimus in natura, vocabulum istud *divinum* non usurpamus ad significandum effectum non divinum causae divinae; neque mens nobis est loqui de *divino* quodam, quod tale sit per participationem.

3. In natura igitur universi, idest in intelligentiis quae in ipso sunt, aliquid est, cui convenit denominatio divini non sensu figurato sed proprio.

Est actualitas non distincta a reliquo actualitatibus divinae.

4. Esse indeterminatum, quod procul dubio notum est omnibus intelligentiis, est divinum illud quod homini in natura manifestatur.

5. Esse quod homo intuetur necesse est ut sit aliquid entis necessarii et aeterni, causae creantis, determinantis ac finientis omnium entium contingentium: atque hoc est Deus.

6. In esse quod praescindit a creaturis et a Deo, quod est esse indeterminatum, atque in Deo, esse non indeterminato sed absoluto, eadem est essentia.

7. Esse indeterminatum intuitionis, esse initiale, est aliquid Verbi, quod mens Patris distinguit non realiter sed secundum rationem a Verbo.

8. Entia finita, quibus componitur mundus, resultant ex duobus elementis, idest ex termino reali finito et ex esse initiali, quod eidem termino tribuit formam entis.

9. Esse, obiectum intuitionis, est actus initialis omnium entium.

Esse initiale est initium tam cognoscibilium quam subsistentium: est pariter initium Dei, prout a nobis concipitur, et creaturarum.

10. Esse virtuale et sine limitibus est prima ac simplicissima omnium entitatum, adeo ut quaelibet alia entitas sit composita, et inter ipsius componentia semper et necessario sit esse virtuale. Est pars essentialis omnium omnino entitatum, utut cogitatione dividantur.

11. Quidditas (id quod res est) entis finiti non constituitur eo quod habet positivi, sed suis limitibus. Quidditas entis infiniti constituitur entitate, et est positiva; quidditas vero entis finiti constituitur limitibus entitatis, et est negativa.

12. Finita realitas non est, sed Deus facit eam esse addendo infinitae realitati limitationem.

Esse initiale fit essentia omnis entis realis.

Esse quod actuat naturas finitas ipsis coniunctum, est recisum a Deo.

13. Discrimen inter esse absolutum et esse relativum non illud est quod intercedit substantiam inter et substantiam, sed aliud multo-

maius: unum enim est absolute ens, alterum est absolute non-ens. At hoc alterum est relative ens. Cum autem ponitur ens relativum, non multiplicatur absolute ens: hinc absolutum et relativum absolute non sunt unica substantia, sed unicum esse; atque hoc sensu nulla est diversitas esse, imo habetur unitas esse.

14. Divina abstractione producitur esse initiale, primum finitorum entium elementum; divina vero imaginatione, producitur reale finitum, seu realitates omnes, quibus mundus constat.

15. Tertia operatio esse absoluti mundum creantis est divina synthesis, idest unio duorum elementorum: que sunt *esse initiale*, commune omnium finitorum entium initium, atque *reale* finitum, seu potius diversa realia finita, termini diversi eiusdem esse initialis. Qua unione creantur entia finita.

16. Esse initiale per divinam synthesim ab intelligentia relatum, non ut intelligibile sed mere ut essentia, ad terminos finitos reales, efficit ut existant entia finita subiective et realiter.

17. Id unum efficit Deus creando, quod totum actum esse creaturarum integre ponit: hic igitur actus proprie non est factus, sed positus.

18. Amor, quo Deus se diligit etiam in creaturis, et qui est ratio qua se determinat ad creandum, moralem necessitatem constituit, quae in ente perfectissimo semper inducit effectum: huiusmodi enim necessitas tantummodo in pluribus entibus imperfectis integrum relinquit libertatem bilateralem.

19. Verbum est materia illa invisa, ex qua, ut dicitur Sap. XI. 18, creatae fuerunt res omnes universi.

20. Non repugnat ut anima humana generatione multiplicetur; ita ut concipiatur eam ab imperfecto, nempe a gradu sensitivo, ad perfectum, nempe ad gradum intellectivum, procedere.

21. Cum sensitivo principio intuibile fit esse, hoc solo tactu, hac sui unione, principium illud antea solum sentiens, nunc simul intelligentis, ad nobiliorem statum evehitur, naturam mutat, ac fit intelligens, subsistens atque immortale.

22. Non est cogitatu impossibile, divina potentia fieri posse, ut a corpore animato dividatur anima intellectiva, et ipsum adhuc maneat animale: maneret nempe in ipso, tamquam basis puri animalis principium animale, quod antea in eo erat veluti appendix.

23. In statu naturali, anima defuncti existit perinde ac non existet: cum non possit ullam super seipsam reflexionem exercere, aut ullam habere sui conscientiam, ipsius conditio similis dici potest statui tenebrarum perpetuarum et somni sempiterni.

24. Forma substantialis corporis est potius effectus animae, atque interior terminus operationis ipsius: propterea forma substantialis corporis non est ipsa anima.

Unio animae et corporis proprie consistit in immanenti perceptione, qua subiectum intuens ideam affirmat sensibile, postquam in hac eius essentiam intuitum fuerit.

25. Revelato mysterio SS^mae Trinitatis, potest ipsius existentia demonstrari argumentis mere speculativis, negativis quidem et indi-

rectis, huiusmodi tamen ut per ipsa veritas illa ad philosophicas disciplinas revocetur, atque fiat propositio scientifica sicut ceterae : si enim ipsa negaretur, doctrina theosophica *purae rationis* non modo incompleta maneret, sed etiam omni ex parte absurditatibus scatens annihilaretur.

26. Tres supremae formae *esse*, nempe subiectivitas, obiectivitas, sanctitas, seu realitas, idealitas, moralitas, si transferantur ad esse absolutum, non possunt aliter concipi nisi ut personae subsistentes et viventes.

Verbum, quatenus obiectum amatum, et non quatenus Verbum idest obiectum in se subsistens per se cognitum, est persona Spiritus Sancti.

27. In humanitate Christi humana voluntas fuit ita rapta a Sp. Sancto ad adhaerendum Esse obiectivo, idest Verbo, ut illa Ipsi integre tradiderit regimen hominis, et Verbum illud personaliter assumpserit, ita sibi unius naturam humanam. Hinc voluntas humana desit esse personalis in homine, et cum sit persona in aliis hominibus, in Christo remansit natura.

28. In christiana doctrina, Verbum, character et facies Dei, imprimitur in animo eorum qui cum fide suscipiunt baptismum Christi.

Verbum, idest character in anima impressum, in doctrina christiana, est Esse reale (infinitum) per se manifestum, quod deinde novimus esse secundam personam Sanctissimae Trinitatis.

29. A catholica doctrina, quae sola est veritas, minime alienam putamus hanc conieturam : In eucharistico Sacramento substantia panis et vini fit vera caro et verus sanguis Christi, quando Christus eam facit terminum sui principii sentientis, ipsamque sua vita vivificat : eo ferme modo quo panis et vinum vere transubstantiantur in nostram carnem et sanguinem, quia fiunt terminus nostri principii sentientis.

30. Peracta transubstantiatione, intelligi potest, corpori Christi glorioso partem aliquam adiungi in ipso incorporatam, indivisam pariterque gloriosam.

31. In Sacramento eucharistiae, *vi verborum* corpus et sanguis Christi est tantum ea mensura quae respondet quantitati (a quel tanto) substantiae panis et vini quae transubstantiantur : reliquum corporis Christi ibi est *per concomitantiam*.

32. Quoniam qui non manducat carnem Filii hominis et bibit eius sanguinem, non habet vitam in se ; et nihilominus qui moriuntur cum baptisme aquae, sanguinis aut desiderii certo consequuntur vitam aeternam : dicendum est, his, qui in hac vita non comedenterunt corpus et sanguinem Christi, subministrari hunc coelestem cibum in futura vita, ipso mortis instanti.

Hinc etiam Sanctis V. T. potuit Christus descendens ad inferos seipsum communicare sub speciebus panis et vini, ut aptos eos redderet ad visionem Dei.

33. Cum daemones fructum possederint, putarunt se ingressuros in hominem, si de illo ederet; converso enim cibo in corpus hominis assimilatum, ipsi poterant libere ingredi animalitatem, idest in vitam subiectivam huius entis, atque ita de eo disponere sicut proposuerant.

34. Ad praeservandam B. V. Mariam a labo originis, satis erat ut incorrupt maneret minimum semen in homine, neglectum forte ab

ipso daemone; e quo incorrupto semine de generatione in generationem transfuso, suo tempore oriretur Virgo Maria.

35. Quo magis attenditur ordo iustificationis in homine, eo aptior appareat modus dicendi scripturalis, quod Deus peccata quaedam tegit aut non imputat. Iuxta Psalmistam discrimen est inter iniquitates quae remittuntur, et peccata quae teguntur: illae, ut videtur, sunt culpae actuales et liberae, haec vero sunt peccata non libera eorum qui pertinent ad populum Dei, quibus propterea nullum afferunt documentum.

36. Ordo supernaturalis constituitur manifestatione esse in plenitudine suae formae realis; cuius communicationis seu manifestationis effectus est sensus (sentimento) deiformis, qui inchoatus in hac vita constitutum lumen fidei et gratiae, completus in altera vita constitutum lumen gloriae.

37. Primum lumen reddens animam intelligentem est esse ideale; alterum primum lumen est etiam esse, non tamen mere ideale sed subsistens ac vivens: illud abscondens suam personalitatem ostendit solum suam obiectivitatem: at qui videt alterum (quod est Verbum), etiamsi per speculum et in aenigmate, videt Deum.

38. Deus est obiectum visionis beatificae, in quantum est auctor operum *ad extra*.

39. Vestigia sapientiae ac bonitatis, quae in creaturis relucunt, sunt comprehensoribus necessaria; ipsa enim in aeterno exemplari collecta sunt ea Ipsius pars quae ab illis videri possit (che è loro accessibile), ipsaque argumentum praebent laudibus, quas in aeternum Deo Beati concinunt.

40. Cum Deus non possit, nec per lumen gloriae, totaliter se communicare entibus finitis, non potuit essentiam suam comprehensoribus revelare et communicare, nisi eo modo, qui finitis intelligentiis sit accommodatus: scilicet Deus se illis manifestat quatenus cum ipsis relationem habet, ut eorum creator, provisor, redemptor, sanctificator.

Joseph Mancini S. Rom. et. Univ. Inq.
Notarius.

1. Nella sfera del creato si manifesta immediatamente all' umano intelletto qualche cosa di divino in se stesso, cioè tale che alla divina natura appartenga (Teosof. vol. iv. n. 2, p. 6).

2. Dicendo il divino nella natura, non prendo questa parola *divino* a significare un effetto non divino di una causa divina. Per la stessa ragione non è mia intenzione di parlare d' un divino, che sia tale per partecipazione (Ivi).

3. Vi è dunque nella natura dell'universo, cioè nelle intelligenze che sono in esso, qualche cosa, a cui conviene la denominazione di divino, non dico in un senso figurato, ma in un senso proprio (Teosof. vol. iv. *Del divino nella natura*, num. 15, pp. 18-19). E una . . . attualità indistinta dal resto dell'attualità divina, indivisibile in sè, divisibile per astrazione mentale (Teosof. vol. iii. n. 1423, p. 344).

4. L'essere indeterminato (essere ideale), il quale è indubbiamente palese a tutte le intelligenze, (*è quel divino che*) si manifesta all'uomo nella natura (Teosof. vol. iv. nn. 5 e 6, p. 8).

5. L'essere intuito dall'uomo deve necessariamente essere qualche cosa d'un ente necessario ed eterno, causa creante, determinante e finiente di tutti gli enti contingenti: e questo è Dio (Teosof. vol. i. n. 298, p. 241).

6. Nell'uno (essere che prescinde dalle creature e da Dio, e che è l'essere indeterminato), e nell'altro essere (che non è più indeterminato, ma Dio stesso, essere assoluto) c'è la stessa essenza (Teosof. vol. ii. n. 848, p. 150).

7. L'essere indeterminato della intuizione . . . l'essere iniziale . . . è qualche cosa del Verbo, che ella (la mente del Padre) distingue non realmente, ma secondo la ragione, dal Verbo (Teosof. vol. ii. n. 848, p. 150; vol. i. n. 490, p. 445).

8. Gli enti finiti che compongono il mondo risultano da due elementi, cioè dal termine reale finito, e dall'essere iniziale, che dà a questo termine la forma di ente (Teosof. vol. i. n. 454, p. 396).

9. L'essere, oggetto dell'intuito . . . è l'atto iniziale di tutti gli enti (Teosof. vol. iii. n. 1235, p. 73). L'essere iniziale dunque è inizio tanto dello scibile quanto del sussistente . . . è ugualmente inizio di Dio, come da noi si concepisce, e delle creature (Teosof. vol. i. n. 287, p. 229; n. 288, p. 230).

10. L'essere virtuale e senza termini (*Divino in se stesso appartenenza di Dio*) è la prima e la più semplice delle entità, per così fatto modo che qualunque altra entità è composta, e tra i suoi componenti c'è l'essere virtuale sempre e necessariamente. L'essere virtuale è parte essenziale di tutte affatto le entità, per quantunque col pensiero si dividano (Teosof. vol. i. n. 280, p. 221; n. 281, p. 223).

11. La quiddità (ciò che una cosa è) dell'ente finito non è costituita da ciò che egli ha di positivo, ma da' suoi limiti . . . La quiddità dell'ente infinito è costituita dall'entità, ed è positiva, e la quiddità dell'ente finito è costituita dai limiti dell'entità, ed è negativa (Teosof. vol. i. n. 726, pp. 708-709).

12. La realtà finita non è, ma egli (Dio) la fa essere coll'aggiungere alla realtà infinita la limitazione (Teosof. vol. i. n. 681, p. 658). L'essere iniziale . . . diventa l'*essenza* di ogni ente reale (Ivi vol. i. n. 458, p. 399). L'essere che attua le nature finite, a queste congiunto, essendo reciso da Dio . . . (Ivi vol. iii. n. 1425, p. 346).

13. La differenza che passa tra l'essere assoluto e il relativo non è quella di sostanza a sostanza, ma una molto maggiore . . . ; perocchè v'ha differenza di essere in questo senso, che l'uno è assolutamente ente, l'altro è assolutamente nonente. Ma questo secondo è relativamente ente: ora col porre un ente relativo non si moltiplica assolutamente l'ente; sicchè rimane che assolutamente l'assoluto e il relativo sia non già una sostanza sola, ma bensì un essere solo, e in questo senso non v'abbia diversità di essere, anzi unità di essere (Teosof. vol. v. cap. iv. p. 9).

14. Coll'astrazione divina abbiamo veduto come sia stato prodotto

l'essere iniziale, primo elemento degli enti finiti: coll'immaginazione divina, abbiamo pure veduto come sia stato prodotto il *reale finito*—tutte le realità di cui consta l'universo (Teosof. vol. i. n. 463, p. 408).

15. La terza operazione dell'Essere assoluto creante il Mondo è la *sintesi divina*, cioè l'unione dei due elementi, *l'essere iniziale* inizio comune di tutti gli enti finiti, e il *reale finito*, o per dir meglio i diversi reali finiti, termini diversi dello stesso essere iniziale. Colla quale unione sono creati gli enti finiti (Ivi).

16. Riferito dall'intelligenza, per mezzo della sintesi divina, l'essere iniziale, non come intelligibile ma puramente come essenza, ni *termini reali finiti*, fa che esistano gli enti finiti subiettivamente e realmente (Teosof. vol. i. n. 464, p. 410).

17. Quello che fa Iddio (*creando*) è unicamente di porre tutto intero l'atto dell'essere delle creature; dunque quest'atto non è propriamente *fatto*, ma è *posto* (Teosof. vol. i. n. 412, p. 350).

18. Vi ha una ragione in Dio stesso, per la quale ei si determina a creare; e questa ragione è di novo l'amore di se stesso, il quale si ama anche nelle creature. Quindi la divina sapienza, come meglio altrove esporremo, trova esser cosa conveniente la creazione, e questa semplice convenienza basta a far sì che l'Essere perfettissimo vi si determini. Ma non si deve confondere questa necessità di convenienza con quella necessità che nasce dalla forma reale dell'Essere e che necessità fisica si suol chiamare. La necessità di convenienza è una necessità morale: cioè veniente dall'Essere sotto la sua forma morale: e la necessità morale non sempre induce l'effetto, che ella prescrive; ma lo induce solo nell'Essere perfettissimo, e non negli esseri imperfetti (a molti dei quali rimane perciò la libertà bilaterale), perchè l'Essere perfettissimo è insieme moralissimo, cioè ha compiuta in sè ogni esigenza morale (Teosof. vol. i. n. 51, pp. 49–50).

19. Il Verbo è quella *materia invisa* da cui dice il libro della Sapienza (xi. 18) che furono create le cose tutte dell'universo (Introduz. del Vangelo secondo Giov. lez. 37, p. 109).

20. Niente ripugna che il soggetto, di cui si parla, si moltiplichи per via di generazione (Psicolog. l. 4, n. 656). Noi abbiamo già detto, che la generazione dell'anima umana si può concepire per gradi progressivi dall'imperfetto al perfetto, e però che prima ci sia il principio sensitivo, il quale giunto alla sua perfezione colla perfezione dell'organismo, riceva l'intuizione dell'essere, e così si renda intellettivo e razionale (Teosof. vol. i. n. 646, p. 619).

21. Rendendosi l'essere intuibile al detto principio (sensitivo), con questo solo toccamento, con questa unione di sè, il principio prima solo senziente, ora anco intelligente, si solleva a più alto stato, cangia natura, rendesi intellettivo, sussistente, immortale (Antropol. l. 4, c. 5, n. 819). Quindi si offre alla mente l'espressione, che il *principio sensitivo* sia divenuto *principio razionale*, che si sia convertito in un altro, avendo subito veramente una tale permutazione (Teosof. vol. i. n. 646, p. 619).

22. Quanto poi alle appendici di cui parliamo, cioè al corpo animato, non è certo impossibile il pensare, che dalla potenza divina possa esser dà lui divisa l'anima intellettiva, ed egli tuttavia rimanersi nella qualità

di animale, rimanendo il principio animale, che prima esisteva come appendice, siccome base del novo ente, cioè del puro animale che rimarrebbe (*Teosof.* vol. i. n. 621, p. 591).

23. Questa (l'anima del defunto) esiste certamente, ma è come se non esistesse (*Teodicea, Appendice*, art. 10, p. 638). Nel quale stato (di natura) non essendo a lei (all'anima separata) possibile alcuna riflessione su di se stessa, né alcuna coscienza, la sua condizione si potrebbe rassomigliare ad uno stato di perpetue tenebre, e di sempre sonno (Introduz. del Vangelo secondo Giov. lez. 69, p. 217).

24. La forma sostanziale del corpo è piuttosto un effetto dell'anima e il termine interno delle sue operazioni: e però non è l'anima stessa che sia la forma sostanziale del corpo (*Psicol.* par. ii. l. 1, c. 11, n. 894). L'unione dell'anima col corpo consiste propriamente in una percezione immanente, per la quale il soggetto intuente l'idea afferma il sensibile dopo averne in questa intuita l'essenza (*Teosof.* vol. v. cap. liii. art. ii. § 5. v. 4°, p. 377).

25. Il mistero della Triade dopo che fu rivelato, esso rimane bensì incomprendibile nella sua propria natura . . . ma ben . . . si può conoscere quella (l'esistenza) d' una Trinità in Dio in un modo almeno congetturale con ragioni positive e dirette, e dimostrativamente con ragioni negative ed indirette; e che, mediante queste prove puramente speculative dell'esistenza d' un' augustissima Triade, questa misteriosa dottrina rientra nel campo della filosofia. Quest' esistenza (della SSma Trinità) diventa una proposizione scientifica come le altre. Qualora si negasse quella Trinità, ne verrebbero da tutte le parti conseguenze assurde apertamente . . . O conviene ammettere la divina Triade, o lasciare la dottrina teosofica di pura ragione incompleta non solo ma pugnante d'ogni parte seco medesimi, e dagli assurdi inevitabili straziati e del tutto annullata (*Teos.* vol. i. nn. 191, 193, 194, pp. 155-158).

26. L'essere nelle tre forme (*subiettività, obiettività, santidad*, o per dirlo altramente: *realità, idealità, moralità*) è identico. Le tre forme poi dell' essere, ove si trasportino nell'Essere assoluto, non si possono più concepire in altro modo, che come persone sussistenti e viventi (vol. i. nn. 190, 196, pp. 154, 159). Il Verbo, *in quanto* è oggetto amato, e non in quanto è Verbo cioè oggetto sussistente per sé cognito, è la persona dello Spirito Santo (Introd. del. Vang. secondo Giov. lez. 65, p. 200).

27. Nell' umanità di Cristo la volontà umana fu talmente rapita dallo Spirito Santo ad aderire all'essere oggettivo, cioè al Verbo, che ella cedette intieramente a lui il governo dell'uomo, e il Verbo personalmente ne prese il regime, così incarnandosi, rimanendo la volontà umana e l'altre potenze subordinate alla volontà in potere del Verbo, che, come primo principio di quest' essere Teandrico, ogni cosa faceva, o si faceva dalle altre potenze col suo consenso. Onde la volontà umana cessò di essere personale nell'uomo, e da persona che è negli altri uomini rimase in Cristo natura . . . Il Verbo poi, incarnato così per opera dello Spirito Santo, estese la sua unione a tutte le potenze ed alla carne stessa (Introduz. del Vangelo secondo Giov. lez. 85, p. 281).

28. Insegnò dunque il Cristianesimo che il Verbo, carattere e faccia

di Dio, come viene anco sovente chiamato nelle Scritture, s'imprime nelle anime di quelli, che colla fede ricevono il battesimo di Cristo (Introduz. alla Filos. n. 92). Il Verbo dunque ossia il carattere impresso nell'anima, secondo il cristiano insegnamento, è l'essere reale (infinito) per sè manifesto, il quale dipoi sappiamo essere una persona, la seconda della divina Trinità (Ivi, *Nota*).

29. Non crediamo aliena dalla dottrina cattolica, che solo è verità, la seguente congettura (*cioè che nell'Eucaristico Sacramento*) la sostanza del pane e del vino ha cessato interamente d' essere sostanza del pane e del vino, ed è divenuta vera carne e vero sangue di Cristo, quando Cristo la rese termine del suo principio senziente, e così la avvivò della sua vita, a quel modo come accade nella nutrizione, che il pane che si mangia e il vino che si beve, quand' è, nella sua parte nutritiva, assimilato alla nostra carne e al nostro sangue, egli è veramente transustanziato, e non è più, come prima, pane o vino, ma è veramente nostra carne e nostro sangue, perchè è divenuto termine del nostro principio sensitivo (Introduz. del Vang. secondo Giov. lez. 87, pp. 285-286).

30. Avvenuta la transustanziazione, si può intendere che al corpo glorioso (di Gesù Cristo) si sia aggiunto qualche parte in esso incorporata, ed indivisa e del pari gloriosa (Ivi).

31. Appunto perchè il corpo di Cristo è unico ed indiviso, egli è necessario che dove si trova una parte si trovi tutto . . . ; ma non tutto quel Corpo diviene termine del suo principio senziente, ma unicamente quella parte che risponde a quel tanto che v'aveva di sostanza di pane e di sostanza di vino nella transustanziazione. Ancora ne verrebbe che in virtù delle parole divine questa sostanza del pane e del vino si transustanziasse in carne e sangue del Salvatore ; ma il rimanente del corpo e del sangue vi rimanesse unito per concomitanza ; il che non par contrario alla dottrina cattolica (Ivi. p. 286, seg).

32. Se dunque chi non mangia la carne del Figliuolo dell'uomo, e bee il suo sangue, non ha la vita in se stesso, e tuttavia chi muore col battesimo d' acqua, o di sangue, o di desiderio, è certo che acquista la vita eterna ; convien dire che quella comestione della carne e del sangue di Cristo, che non fece nella vita presente, gli verrà somministrata nella futura al punto della sua morte, e così avrà la vita in se stesso . . . Anche a' santi dell' antico testamento, quando Cristo discese al limbo, potè Cristo comunicare se stesso sotto la forma di pane e di vino, e così . . . renderli atti alla visione di Dio (Introduz. del Vang. secondo Giovanni lez. 74, p. 238).

33. (I demonii) impossessatisi di un frutto pensarono che entrerebbero nell' uomo, quand' egli, spiccatolo dall' albero, ne mangiasse ; giacchè il cibo convertendosi nel corpo animato dell' uomo, essi potevano entrare a man salva nell'animalità, ossia nella vita soggettiva di questo essere, e farne quel governo che si proponevano (Introd. del Vang. secondo Giov. lez. 63, p. 191).

34. Preservò (Iddio) dal peccato originale una donzella . . . : alla quale preservazione dall' infezione originale bastava che rimanesse incorrotto un menomo seme nell'uomo, trascurato forse dal demonio

stesso, dal quale seme incorrotto passato di generazione in generazione uscisse a suo tempo la Vergine (Ivi, lez. 64, p. 193).

35. Più che altri considera quest' ordine della giustificazione dell'uomo, più troverà acconcia la maniera scritturale di dire che Dio cuopre certi peccati o non gl' impulta. Infatti col battesimo non si distrugge la mala volontà naturale, ma le se n' aggiunge una soprannaturale, che cuopre, per così dire la naturale, e impedisce che quella perda l'uomo. Onde il Salmista dice: Beati quelli, le iniquità dei quali furono rimesse, e i peccati de' quali furono coperti; dove si fa la differenza fra le iniquità che si rimettono, e i peccati che si cuoprono, e sembra che per quelle si vogliano intendere le colpe attuali e libere, e per questi i peccati non liberi di quelli che appartengono al popolo di Dio, e che però non ne ricevono più danno alcuno (Trattato della coscienza morale, l. i. c. 6. a. 2).

36. L'essere (essenziale) si comunica a noi nella sola forma ideale per natura, e questo costituisce *l'ordine naturale*; l'essere stesso si manifesta a noi altresì nella pienezza della sua *forma reale* per grazia, e questa è comunicazione e percezione vera di Dio, e costituisce l'ordine soprannaturale . . . l'effetto della comunicazione soprannaturale è un sentimento deiforme, di cui non abbiamo a principio coscienza, come non l'abbiamo di ogni sentimento nostro sostanziale e fondamentale. Or poi il *sentimento deiforme*, di cui parliamo, è incipiente in questa vita, nella quale costituisce il lume della *fede* e della *grazia*; compiuto nell'altra, nella quale costituisce il lume della *gloria* (Filosof. del Dritto, par. ii. nn. 674, 676, 677).

37. Il primo lume che rende l'anima intelligente è l'essere ideale e indeterminato; l'altro primo lume è ancora l'essere, ma non puramente ideale, ma ben anche sussistente e vivente . . . L'idea adunque è l'essere intuito dall'ucmo, ma non è il Verbo; che non quella ma questo è sussistenza: quello è l'essere che occulta la sua sussistenza e lascia solo trasparire la sua oggettività indeterminata ed impersonale: nella mente che intuisce l'idea non cade la personalità dell'essere . . . ma chi vede il Verbo, ancorchè per ispecchio ed in enimma, vede Iddio (Introd. alla Filosofia, n. 85).

38. Sebbene Iddio sensa mezzo alcuno sia oggetto della visione beatificatrice, e forma dell'intelletto dei Beati; tuttavia egli è tale in quanto è autore delle opere *ad extra*, le quali in un modo ineffabile sono in lui (Teodicea, n. 672).

39. I vestigii della sapienza e della bontà del creato, lunghi dal divenire loro (ai comprensori) inutili, anzi riescono necessarii; perocchè questi vestigii tutti raccolti nell'esemplare eterno sono appunto quella parte di esso che è loro accessibile, onde sono tuttavia quelli che danno argomento alle lodi che a Dio eternamente tributano (Ivi, n. 674).

40. Se dunque non potea (Dio) comunicare se stesso totalmente ad esseri finiti, neppure mediante il lume di gloria; rimane a cercare in che modo egli poteva rivelare loro e comunicare la propria essenza. Certo in quel modo che alla natura delle intelligenze create è conforme; e questo modo è quello pel quale Iddio ha con esso loro relazione, cioè come creatore loro, come provisore, come redentore, come santificatore (Ivi, n. 677).

Science Notices.

New Nebulae in the Pleiades.—The discovery, by photographic means, of the *invisible* nebulae which form an integral part of the marvellous system of the Pleiades, is one of the most remarkable of our time. Not that the inaccessibility of these objects to ordinary methods of observation is absolute. M. Tempel, of Florence, detected, in 1859, a gauzy appendage to the star Merope, of such unsubstantial texture, that it seemed as if a breath had just there stained for a moment the purity of the heavens. Moreover, the nebulous whorl round Maia, which made its unexpected appearance on the sensitive plates of the MM. Henry at Paris, in November 1885, was subsequently, by careful looking, found with several large telescopes. But it is to the camera that the honour exclusively belongs of having brought to light, in their full complexity and multiplicity, the nebular relations of this brilliant cluster. A photograph, taken by Mr. Roberts, of Liverpool, with an exposure of three hours, October 24, 1886, showed “nebulosity extending in streamers and fleecy masses” so as “almost to fill the spaces between the stars;” and two still more noteworthy pictures, to obtain which, in November and December last, the MM. Henry had to undergo the severe strain of *four hours'* continuous supervision of their instrument, reveal peculiarities of structure in these curdling and clinging mists of the cosmos, never before made so clearly manifest.

Four principal stars in the Pleiades—Alcyone, Electra, Merope, and Maia—are now perceived to be the centres of as many nebulous formations, distinctly organized, as it would seem, yet beyond question mutually connected. Notwithstanding their visual ineffectiveness, these wonderful agglomerations possess a high degree of chemical intensity, as shown by the strength and definiteness of their photographic impressions. Their contorted and compressed shapes betray the struggle of antagonistic forces, and suggest the slow advance of processes, the nature of which lies for the present beyond our ken, or, at the most, can be reached by a dim and shadowy surmise. But the most singular feature of these new photographs is the appearance upon them of two long, thin, rectilinear streaks of nebulous matter, traversing rows respectively of seven and four stars, and stringing them together, “like beads on a rosary.” The sky is full of nebular curiosities, but contains, perhaps, none more fantastically strange than these luminous *cables* stretched from star to star, and constituting, as it were, highways through space for the convenient passage of electrical or other influences. The photographic map of the Pleiades constructed in 1886 included 1421 stars, down to the sixteenth magnitude; that issued with the last Annual Report from the Paris Observatory contains 2326, down

to the eighteenth magnitude. Most of the supplementary objects are beyond the range of eye observation with any telescope; but the question whether they are real physical components of the group, or merely belong to the "pale populace" of the immeasurably distant celestial realms beyond, cannot yet be decided. The vast increase of sensitiveness in the gelatine "dry plates" now available is shown by the *minimum visible* on those recently exposed being more than six times fainter than in the impressions secured only two years previously. Evidently, there is still much improvement to be expected in the already extraordinary capabilities of the photographic method of astronomical research.

The Canals of Mars.—Most of our readers are aware that the telescopic disc of Mars presents marked diversities of colour. Its fundamental tint, which certainly belongs to the actual surface, and is most probably inherent in the soil, is a reddish-yellow; but it is everywhere encroached upon by a complicated arrangement of dark green stripes and patches, presumably representing the aqueous portions of the Martian globe. The alternate expansion and contraction, in correspondence with the vicissitudes of the seasons, of a brilliant white spot at either pole, strengthens the persuasion that the distribution of hues on this planet gives a veracious report as to the configuration of land and water on the most *terrestrial* (next to our own abode) of all the attendants on the sun.

"The Canals of Mars" were first perceived by Schiaparelli at Milan in 1877. They are, to all appearance, water-courses connecting the seas and breaking up the continents into islands. Some run three or four thousand miles almost in a straight line, and most are about sixty miles wide. They occur in all parts of the planet's surface. The singularity of their aspect was vastly enhanced by their emergence in duplicate at the opposition of 1881-2. A great number of the original canals were on that occasion seen to be accompanied, along their entire course, by parallel dark streaks separated from them by perceptible intervals. This extraordinary phenomenon of "gemination" is strongly suspected of being periodical. It is certainly not permanent. No twin-canals were visible in 1877, and they had nearly all disappeared in 1886. Schiaparelli, who first detected them, referred their development to the influence of the Martian seasons; and Mr. Proctor regards them as diffraction images of the rivers they seem to attend when low-lying mists overhang their beds. They have, then, if this view be correct, no substantial existence, but are mere optical adjuncts to the genuine and permanent "canals" they imitate. The conditions favourable to their production arise, so far as is yet known, in the spring and autumn of their respective hemispheres.

The observations made by M. Perrotin at Nice, in April and May of the present year, indicate, if confirmed, a notable amount of variability in the surface-features of Mars. An equatorial continent named, on Schiaparelli's maps, "Lybia," has, since the last opposition, vanished before the encroachments of the adjacent sea, which appears

to have simultaneously retired from the more southern portion of its bed. The submergence of Lybia is conjectured, upon evidence furnished by a drawing of 1882, to be an effect of recurring inundations. Nor is it an isolated example of change. Lake Moeris, opening out of one of the canals in the same neighbourhood, is now also no longer visible, while a new canal has become conspicuous. The whole of the modified tract is estimated to cover 600,000 square kilometres; its area, in other words, is somewhat greater than that of France. As a further interesting novelty, M. Perrotin observed what seems to be a channel of open water in the form of a distinct dusky line drawn straight from one arctic sea to another, across the northern polar snow-cap. To M. Terby at Brussels, too, this feature has been perfectly visible since May 12, so that there can here be no question of illusion. Struck with the commercial advantages offered by some of these alterations to the (assumed) traders and navigators of Mars, certain ingenious journalists, familiar with our own isthmus-cutting proclivities, have proclaimed, in sensational paragraphs, the successful completion of similar works on the neighbour-planet. Such announcements can impose only on the ignorant; to astronomers they are simply ludicrous.

The solid and liquid parts of the surface of Mars are so intimately blended and intertwined as to suggest that the general level of the land there differs very little from that of the water. Extensive floodings of continents by seas, often suspected, and now positively affirmed to have taken place, point to the same conclusion. There are, however, mountainous patches. The whole of "Fontana Land," in thirty-five degrees of south latitude, appears to be snow-covered. Its glare was especially striking, during the late opposition, in the reflecting telescopes of Mr. Denning at Bristol, and of Mr. D. Smart in London. Three small, round, white spots, located in the prolongation of the River Erebus, were besides watched by M. Terby in May. Their brilliancy was so great as to cause them to project, by a well-known irradiative effect, above the smooth outline of the disc when the planet's rotation brought them round to the limb. There can be little doubt of their being really snow-clad elevations. The most favourable opportunity for observing Mars during the remainder of this century will occur in August 1892, when some of the many curious problems connected with its physical condition may, it is to be hoped, receive a solution through the application to them of the increased telescopic power now actually available.

Comets.—Encke's comet has once more returned to the sun. It passed perihelion on June 28, but this time escapes observation in the northern hemisphere, and in the southern will be best seen in August. Terrestrial scrutiny of this apparently insignificant object has now lasted rather more than one hundred years, and is not likely to become relaxed in watchfulness. Prolonged study of the course of its revolutions has indeed excited, quite as much as it has gratified, curiosity. The discovery of their progressive acceleration through the supposed action of a resisting medium was of profound interest

the recent detection of the intermittence of that action has thrown speculation—if one may venture to say so—on its beam-ends. And now a fresh subject of inquiry is started by M. Berberich's investigation into the changes of brightness of the comet at its successive recorded appearances. These changes are tolerably striking; and—what is still more remarkable—they seem to be periodical. Their periodicity, moreover, agrees so closely with that of the solar fluctuations, as to reflect even the irregularities of the spot-cycle. All the brighter apparitions of Encke's comet are in fact grouped together near epochs of maximum, all the fainter about minima. Nor is this correspondence altogether inexplicable. The illumination of comets is beyond question of an electrical nature, and obviously depends in great measure, if not wholly, on the inductive influence of the sun. This gains in power, as the example of terrestrial auroras teaches us, with the heightening of solar agitation signified by the copious production of spots. Auroral periodicity is thus, according to M. Berberich, an effect closely analogous to, and depending on, the same causes with the recurrent variations in perihelion lustre of Encke's comet. There is some reason to think that comets are more numerously discovered when sun-spots are many than when they are few. It is not, however, the number of those approaching the sun that is increased, but only the vividness of their incandescence. Hence the proportion of those observed to those undetected grows larger. But the fact of this kind of variation is as yet quite uncertain. Further experience is required to establish it. M. Berberich's inquiries lend no countenance to the idea of the continuous wearing-out of comets. Encke's, at least, shows no sign of steadily advancing decay. It was more brilliant, for instance, in 1885 than in 1795, but is expected to be fainter than usual at its present return.

The strange luminous outburst of Sauerthal's comet on the 20th or 21st of May, more than two months after its perihelion passage, is unprecedented in a body so remote from the sun. A sixteen-fold accession of light was accompanied by an equally sudden change of colour from pale white to brilliant yellow, suggesting that the abrupt kindling of the sodium vapours entering into the comet's composition was the immediate cause of its temporary brightness. This object was discovered by Mr. Sauerthal, of the Royal Observatory, Cape of Good Hope, February 18, 1888. It became later visible to northern observers, and, though never conspicuous, was plainly perceptible to the naked eye. At Windsor, in New South Wales, its tail was traced by Mr. Tebbutt to three degrees from the head. The action of disintegrating forces was evidenced by the division of the nucleus after passing the sun, March 18. The orbit of Sauerthal's comet is elliptical; and is traversed in something over two thousand years.

Chemical Constituents of the Sun.—The evidence brought forward by the late Dr. Henry Draper, of New York, in 1877, by which the presence of oxygen in the sun was thought to be demonstrated, is now shown to be worthless. Eighteen bright lines in the solar

spectrum were supposed to represent its emissions at such an exalted state of incandescence that it actually outshone the photosphere itself. But as the sun's light came to be more and more searchingly analyzed by being spread out, or dispersed over a wider and wide area, these delusive bright lines, instead of holding their own, and standing out, clear and sharp, against the luminous background, gradually melted into it, and so proved themselves to be merely bright interspaces between adjacent dark lines.

The latest researches on the subject, carried out in America by Messrs. Trowbridge, Hutchings, and Holden, are decisive. The large-scale photographs of the solar spectrum, obtained by them with the aid of one of Rowland's magnificent concave "gratings," bear no imprint of the action of oxygen, either emissive or absorptive—that is to say, of oxygen at the high temperature of the electric spark. A different set of *dark* lines, produced by the same substance in a cooler condition, was some years ago identified by Dr. Schuster as interrupting the prismatic band of dispersed sunlight; and the identification still remains uncontradicted, if unconfirmed. The question whether the essential constituent of the air we breathe is found in the sun is of great interest, yet is very difficult, owing to the Protean nature of the oxygen molecule, to answer peremptorily. Four distinct spectra corresponding to four different stages of thermal excitement have been recognized as belonging to it; if one set of characters are absent from the solar spectrum, another may be detected, and proof and disproof may pursue each other with alternative advantage from one stronghold to another. One fact is, however, certain. No modification of oxygen known to terrestrial chemistry has ever displayed itself among the glowing gases and vapours issuing from the sun's surface in the form of "prominences." There is, indeed, some plausibility in the view that oxygen exists only potentially in the great central furnace of our system. The materials that may eventually compose it are, on this hypothesis, there; but not the so-called "element" itself.

The American investigators believe that they have found unmistakable traces of carbon-absorption in the solar spectrum; and they have identified in its green, blue, and ultra-violet sections sixteen coincident lines of platinum. This metal had never before been associated with any cosmical body. The solar presence of bismuth, cadmium, and cerium is moreover confirmed, while that of lead, molybdenum, uranium, and vanadium is considered to remain open to doubt.

The Wimshurst Influence Machine.—Side by side at the annual soirée of the Royal Society were to be seen two exhibits of an intensely interesting character, viz., the collection of Photographs of Lightning Flashes exhibited by the Royal Meteorological Society, and the large Electrical Influence Machine of Mr. James Wimshurst. In the one was the picture of the true form of the lightning flash in its many varieties, as the collection was from all parts of the world; in the other was to be seen the lightning itself, flashing not from

cloud to cloud, but from terminal to terminal of the huge laboratory influence machine. Its discharge affords, perhaps, the finest display of artificial lightning yet witnessed. The similarity of form in the artificial discharge and the photograph was further confirmed when Dr. Marcket projected the image of the discharge on a screen: the appearance was identical. Mr. Wimshurst has indeed put a powerful instrument into the hands of the physicist. From the old frictional machine a powerful spark could certainly be produced under good conditions of atmosphere. Dr. Tyndall, once upon a time, nearly fell a victim to the artificial lightning stroke of a large machine of the old frictional type at the Royal Institution. When lecturing he accidentally received a shock: he stood motionless and senseless for a moment before the audience, who were unaware that anything had occurred. Ordinary frictional machines were, however, utterly unreliable. On a damp day they required such warming and coaxing as to weary the most ardent philosopher. Therefore experimenters contrived to produce a continuous Electrophorus, *i.e.*, an influence machine, with more or less success. Holtz, Carée, and Voss individually produced great improvements on the uncertain old frictional machines; but none of these possess the certainty of action which characterizes the achievement of Mr. Wimshurst. It is self exciting, independent of atmospherical conditions; when excited the direction of the current never changes, the quantity of electricity is very great and the potential high. Mr. Wimshurst says he produced his machine from the experience gained in working with the more imperfect forms. Simplicity is a characteristic of its construction. Two discs of glass revolve near to each other and in opposite directions. Each disc carries metallic sectors, and has its two brushes supported by metal rods, the rods to the two plates forming an angle of 90 degrees with each other. The external circuit is independent of the brushes, and is formed by the combs and terminals. The length of spark obtained is nearly equal to the radius of the disc. The machine exhibited at the Royal Society had twelve discs, each 2 feet 6 inches in diameter; the plates, sectors, and brushes were fitted within a glass case; the length of spark from it is 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In Mr. Wimshurst's recent lecture at the Royal Institution, he drew attention to the important fact of self-excitation in the following words: "During the construction of the machine every care was taken to avoid electrical excitement in any of its parts, and after its completion several friends were present to witness the fitting of the brushes and the first start. When all was ready the terminals were connected to an electroscope, and the handle was moved so slowly that it occupied thirty seconds in moving one half-revolution, and at that point violent excitement appeared." But this machine is not the largest Mr. Wimshurst has made. One has been constructed for the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, with plates 7 feet in diameter.

The practical electrician naturally asks to what practical use can these powerful static machines be placed. Mr. Wimshurst told us

that he is not sanguine of any direct practical application of his instrument. Static electricity has been particularly barren in practical adaptions. This is probably why a really reliable machine for its production has only lately been acquired—that of Mr. Wimshurst, who says he has worked out his machine purely with the investigator's aims—but *indirectly* it may turn out to be a very practical instrument. Experience has shown that our knowledge of the proper use of lightning-conductors is very limited. It is so merely because of our ignorance of the action of lightning. Now that we can have in our laboratories a machine from which at all times electrical discharges of high potential can be conveniently obtained, surely we shall learn somewhat more of the nature of a flash, and, following its caprices, decide the best metal for its path. Professor Lodge recently pointed out, in his lecture at the Society of Arts, that the ordinary method of testing lightning-conductors by means of a galvanometer is absurd. Now, we have to wait for the thunder-storm to put the reliable test, but in the near future this operation may possibly be performed by the monster influence machines.

The Isolation of Fluorine.—On the 12th of February, 1887, at a conference at the Sorbonne, Paris, M. Moissan, the young chemical discoverer, explained his method of isolating the hitherto intractable element, fluorine. Mr. Mattieu Williams has recently well described fluorine as “the fury of the chemical world.” He points out that this substance, which exists so peacefully in fluor spar and in certain other bodies, when isolated is a rabid gas, which nothing can resist. It combines with all the metals, explosively with some, or if they are already combined with some other non-metallic element it tears them from it. In uniting with sodium, potassium, calcium, magnesium, and aluminium, the metals become heated to redness, while its union with iron filings and manganese but slightly warmed is accompanied with brilliant scintillations. Gold and silver are not proof against it at moderate temperatures. Glass is devoured greedily. Water, under which so many gases are peacefully collected in the laboratory, is decomposed by this active body, the gas combining with the hydrogen of the water, and at the same time forming hydrofluoric acid and freeing ozone. Considering this property of universal chemical combination, it is no wonder that many have failed in what M. Moissan, after three years of labour, has accomplished. One life has been sacrificed in the attempt, for in 1869 Professor Nicklé's, of Nancy, accidentally breathed the vapour of hydrofluoric acid during the attempt to obtain fluorine in the free state, and in so doing became a martyr to the cause. Amongst the unsuccessful experimenters it was Gore who came nearest to the process of M. Moissan, for he endeavoured to isolate the element by means of the electrolysis of hydrofluoric acid. But the hydrofluoric acid would not conduct the electric current. M. Moissan supplies the missing link, and adds a little acid fluoride of potassium to the hydrofluoric acid, which then conducts the current. Fluorine gas is disengaged at the positive pole, and hydrogen at the negative. Through the enterprise of

Prof. Thorpe, the dual apparatus for the above purpose was exhibited lately at the soirée given by Dr. Bell, the president of the Institute of Chemistry :—1. The apparatus for the preparation of anhydrous hydrofluoric acid by heating acid potassium fluoride ; 2. The apparatus for the electrolysis of hydrofluoric acid. There is yet, however, another missing link to be found—viz., a substance that will not combine with fluorine. Even M. Moissan cannot find a vessel that will keep the element when obtained. He has, therefore, been compelled to examine its properties at the moment of its production. One of the most interesting of his experiments is that which proves the new gas to be the true fluorine, and not a compound of fluorine and hydrogen. He passes the gas over red-hot iron in a platinum tube in an atmosphere of carbonic acid gas, and obtains fluoride of iron without a trace of hydrogen.

It is a curious fact that fluorine, with all the world for its choice, in two spots only—the Oural Mountains and Greenland—has united with aluminium and sodium to form cryolite. Whilst on the subject of fluorine it is interesting to note that this double fluoride of aluminium and sodium is a valuable commodity for the obtaining of aluminium—a metal in such great demand. The value of cryolite has lately been further enhanced by M. Kleiner's new method of obtaining aluminium by the electrolysis of the compound.

Personal Identification and Description.—Personal identification and description in the hands of Mr. Francis Galton may possibly become a science so exact, that, in the future, a question of identity like the Tichborne case could never be raised. Mr. Galton is of opinion that individuals differ in a measurable manner, and that paucity of descriptive terms for form makes that fact difficult of demonstration. Perhaps the inadequacy of language has prevented the development of thought in this direction. For certainly the cataloguing of measurements of the human form, for hereditary investigations, is a departure of late date. Mr. Galton hopes that by measuring personal peculiarities indisputable evidence of a man's descent and near kinship will be obtained. To measure resemblance, the least discernible difference is taken as the unit for each degree of unlikeness, and in the case of a silhouette that unit is equal to the one-hundredth part of an inch. The first principles of measurement of a face are simple. That part of the outline lying between the brow and the parting of the lips is first considered. The base for horizontal measurement is the tangent line between the convexity of the chin and the concavity between the brow and the nose, and a good unit of horizontal scale is “the distance between the line just mentioned and one drawn parallel to it that just touched the nose.” The unit of vertical scale is kept separate, and a line drawn parallel to the above lines is used therefor, in the distance between the pupil of the eye and the parting of the lips. Differences in feature in individuals are small, but very numerous. Out of a large collection of profiles a great many will differ in some part of their outline by the amount of the first unit of difference—namely, the one-hundredth part of an inch—but

very few would be found to differ by ten times that amount. Then again, as might be expected, the differences in feature are more independent one of another than are the lengths of the limbs—that is, a small foot generally goes with a small hand, but a short nose will often be found with a long chin. Height is not considered a reliable measure : for a man is always taller in the morning than he is in the evening.

Prisoners in France are identified by a system of measurement invented by M. Alphonse Bertillon, and the measurements taken are head length and breadth, foot length, finger length, and length from finger to elbow joint. These are found to be reliable and unchangeable. But the classification of the cards on which these measurements are inscribed does not extend beyond large, medium, and small. At a Friday evening meeting at the Royal Institution lately, Mr. Galton showed a working model of his devising, by whose key five hundred cards notched to indicate measurements could be tested for any given measure, and the right card or cards selected. The testing and selection was done by a single movement of the key. This method of finding a standard to which a man's measurements or his profile conform is not hard and fast, while it is rapid and simple.

At this same meeting Professor Dewar and Mr. Galton pressed each a finger tip on smoked glass, and showed the imprint of same on a screen by means of a projection lantern, to demonstrate the difference in the spiral lines of the two fingers. For the science of identification is to take note of differences, small as well as great, so long as they are measurable or definable. The spiral forms on finger tips seem to supply very reliable data. There is great variety in the imprints of individual finger tips, and they seem unchangeable, not only in the general character of the spirals, "but in measurable details, as in the distance from the centre of the spiral and in the direction" of the rise of each ridge. The digit marks of Sir W. Herschel, made four times in twenty-eight years at the respective dates of 1860, 1874, 1885, and 1888, are absolutely identical. Sir W. Herschel has himself made use of digit marks in the legal attestation among the natives in India. The imprint of a finger is also a novel and certain method of guarding against the alteration of the figures of a cheque. The figures are written on the imprint, and Mr. F. Galton possesses a photograph of such a cheque as actually sent. The iris of the human eye is another promising field for the coming science. Makers of artificial eyes tell one that, out of rows upon rows of different eyes in drawers upon drawers, it is often impossible to match an eye. One has to be made a little like one of the pattern eyes with some particular markings out of another one of the number, and so on.

We have certainly grounds for expecting some practical results from Mr. F. Galton's investigations ; but they will benefit posterity and not the present generation, for vast collections of data must be made and compared before a reliable system of scientific identification can be established.

The International Aeronautical Exhibition at Vienna.—Vienna this year is holding her first International Aéronautical Exhibition in the Ausstellungsstrasse, in the Prater. At the same time, though Russia is constructing balloons for all her western fortresses, the Galician line of defences has no aéronautical aids, in spite of the fact that to Cracow and Przemysl balloons might be of priceless value; and Austria is still almost the only Power in Europe destitute of an aéronautical corps. The Exhibition is of great interest, not so much for the striking novelty of the exhibits, but for their variety. There are nine sections, and together they present a fairly exhaustive summary of the aéronautical knowledge of the century. I say only "fairly exhaustive" with a purpose; for Great Britain, as far as I can observe, is only represented by a portrait of Mr. Glaisher. If we except the system of electric night-signalling, the main advances in ballooning in England have been made by our balloon corps of Royal Engineers, so that, perhaps, we ought to be glad that these have not reached the foreign Exhibition; but its Flying Machine Section would have been the more complete for the fine collection of fifty working models belonging to Mr. F. Brearey, hon. secretary of the Aéronautical Society of Great Britain, and "My Life and Balloon Experiences," by Mr. Coxwell (published 1887), would have been a pleasant addition to the very interesting specialist literature on view in Sections 5 and 7. The Exhibition in the Ausstellungsstrasse is on the ground of the only large aéronautical establishment in Austria-Hungary—that of Herr Victor Silberer, the well-known sporting writer and editor of the *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung*. This journal, by the way, is the only German weekly that devotes a standing portion of its columns to aéronautics. The variety and order of the Exhibition speak for the knowledge and organizing gift of Herr V. Silberer, and his prudence and judgment are testified by a little work of his in Section 6, entitled "Die Unmöglichkeit der Lenkbarmachung des Luftballons."

The general public are perhaps most attracted to the Balloon House, where are fourteen balloons, some models and some full size, of various forms and materials. All are made throughout with inland materials only, and some are cigar-shaped, some pear-shaped, some cylindrical, spherical, and even ring-shaped. The three large balloons with which Herr V. Silberer proposes to make ascents during the summer are two of spherical form and one pear-shaped, the former being the present approved form for balloons otherwise than navigable. These three balloons are respectively of 600, 1100, and 2000 cubic metres gas capacity. The latter, the giant "Austria," will be capable of lifting eight persons, and is the largest balloon yet made in Vienna. Herr V. Silberer is now being assisted in the completion of these large balloons by a nephew of the famous French aéronaut, Mr. Godard, who will also accompany him in the coming ascents.

Perhaps the really most interesting section of the Exhibition is the collection of balloon valves in the Long Hall, Section 6, and for the reason that some of these systems are now actually in use in the

German, French, Prussian, Italian, and Chinese armies. There are only two exhibits—one from Paris and one from Frankfurt-on-Main—of the great desideratum for balloons—varnish. Scientific instruments, as needed by aéronauts, are very well represented, and there is a good collection of photographs, some taken from balloon, as sent by Mr. Gaston Tissandier, professor of chemistry, and editor of *La Nature*, Mr. Yon, of Paris, and others.

The science of aéronautics has its curios and antiquities, and they are represented at Vienna. There is the navigable balloon model of Heinrich Ressel, the German claimant of the invention of the screw, an historical rarity without practical value; there is also exhibited *Le Ballon Poste*, the journal of the siege of Paris, printed on fine silk paper, in 1870, and issued regularly by balloon to the provinces; and, lastly, there is the veteran balloon "Vindobona," well known to the Viennese: it is made of silk, and, with its car and net, is all of French manufacture. The famous French aéronaut, Mr. Godard, made his first ascent in Vienna by its means, and between 1882 and 1887 the "Vindobona" made ninety-seven journeys, some attended with risk and adventure. It will ascend no more, and, lying there prone on the floor of the Exhibition, it is still a centre of attraction to all classes of Viennese, from the specialist to the *gamin*.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Trade Routes to Siberia.—Captain Wiggins, for the last fifteen years the indefatigable pioneer of the sea trade with Siberia, was accompanied on his last voyage to the mouth of the Yenisei, by Mr. Sulivan, representing the "Phoenix Merchant Adventurers" of Newcastle-on-Tyne. The results as to trade are encouraging, the cargo brought from England was successfully disposed of, and considerable orders were received for next season, when the Phoenix Adventurers intend to freight a larger steamer to the mouth of the Yenisei, and have her cargo tugged down the river by the *Phœnix*, now left behind there, in an immense barge, at present in course of construction at Yeniseisk. Siberian wheat, salt, leather, wool, and butter are to be purchased for shipment to England, and it is understood that the Phoenix merchants have obtained the privilege of free importation of goods into Siberia by the Polar Sea for three years.

The enterprise, to prove the feasibility of which Captain Wiggins devoted so many years, may now be considered fairly started, by this, his eleventh voyage through the Kara Straits. Previous failures by others to navigate that channel he attributes to mistakes, either in

the choice of time, or in the class of vessels selected for the experiment.

It will be a surprise to most English readers to hear of the class of goods which may find a market in Siberia, associated in their minds with the penal solitude of exile. Mr. Sulivan undertakes, for instance, to dispose of a grand piano at a large profit in Yeniseisk, and can show a photograph of a Siberian drawing-room as luxuriously furnished as any in Europe. A recent English traveller, on producing a small toy-telephone as a present in a house in Irkutsk, was greatly surprised to find his host's study fitted up with the same instrument in the newest and most improved form. The great cost of goods imported overland from Russia opens a field for profitable competition for the cheaper maritime route.

Another scheme for opening a trade route between Europe, Siberia, and China, hitherto regarded as visionary, has received increased prominence from the development of the Yenisei trade. This is a project advocated by M. Golochavastoff for a railway 262 miles long, to connect the extensive Obi and Irtish water system with the Northern Ocean at the mouth of the river Karataika, westward of the dreaded Straits of Kara, and in the region of the influence of the Gulf Stream, where navigation can be carried on with perfect safety for four or five months of the year. There are no great engineering difficulties, and the scheme seems otherwise feasible, but in the present financial condition of Russia it is scarcely likely to be attempted.—(*Times*, March 9, 1888.)

Flower Farms in Provence.—The United States Consul at Marseilles has forwarded to his Government an interesting report on floriculture for the manufacture of essences, in the districts of Grasse, Seillans, &c. Violets, jonquils, and mignonette are usually picked in February, March, and April, though the former, in exceptionally mild and damp seasons, come into blossom in December. Roses, orange-blossom, thyme, and rosemary are gathered in May and June; tuberose and jasmine in July and August; lavender in September; and acacia in October and November. Roses and orange-blossoms are, however, the chief crops, the others being grown principally by small proprietors among their vines and olives. One of the largest flower farms visited was that of the Marquise de Rostaing at Seillans, situated about 2000 feet above the sea, and twenty miles from the coast, on the southern slope of the Maritime Alps. Here a tract of twenty-five acres had, up to 1881, been planted with olives, which gave very scanty produce, as the soil was chalky and poor. Hence the enterprising proprietress determined to convert it into a scent farm, and, after cutting down the olives, had the ground trenched to a depth of four feet, and made arrangements for the requisite irrigation. In the autumn of 1881 she had planted 45,000 violet plants and 140,000 of white jasmine, and in the following spring the rest of the ground was planted with roses, geraniums, jonquils, &c., and a laboratory built for the extraction of essences. In the fourth year—1885—the property which had previously yielded

an income of £23, produced scent to the value of £863, leaving a net profit of £154. As the preliminary expenses were very heavy, and interest on capital is deducted from profits, the latter represent a very satisfactory result, particularly as the plants were not yet perfectly mature.

Railway to Teheran.—Private accounts from the Caspian describe the railway from Resht to Teheran as already in hand, the engineers being on the spot and material commencing to arrive from Europe *via* Batoum and the Transcaucasian railway. The line is being constructed by a Belgian syndicate, enjoying the warm support of the Russian Government. It is expected that the undertaking will be rapidly completed, the Shah as well as the Russian authorities being impatient in this respect. Labour for the line is being secured in South Russia, the contracts mostly specifying that the men shall proceed to Persia as soon as the river Volga opens in the spring. Many Asiatics employed in the construction of the Russian line to Merv, and afterwards discharged, have already arrived on the spot, and are being utilized in the preliminary works. At present it is not contemplated to push the line any farther ahead, but plans exist for extending it eastward to Meshed and south to the Persian Gulf. As regards the former it is proposed afterwards to carry it on to Herat and India. This, when the section from Baku to Resht is also finished, will open a new route to India from the Black Sea, and give Batoum immense commercial importance. Although to a certain extent these schemes are still in the air, they are favoured by the Russian Government, and may be confidently expected to be realized by degrees.—(*Engineering*, Feb. 17, 1888.)

Prospects of Navigation on the Upper Irawadi.—Captain Rimmer, recently deputed to explore the Irawadi above Bhamo, hitherto regarded as the superior limit of navigation on that river, believes that it will be found practicable for steamers in the dry season for 100 or 140 miles higher. A promising field would here be opened for British trade with the country inhabited by the Kacheyens, who cultivate cotton and opium, and bring honey, beeswax, and caoutchouc into the villages for barter. The lateral valley of the Moyoung Creek would also be tapped, when the traffic at present carried on by boats would be largely developed, and Moyoung itself brought six days nearer to Bhamo.

Progress of the Manchester Canal.—The *Times* of May 21, 1888, gives a sketch of the present state of the new waterway, which, at the actual rate of progress, may easily be finished long before the period of four years assigned for its completion. All along its whole length of 35 miles the work is actively proceeding, and the steam digger or "devil," watched where possible by eager crowds of spectators, is rapidly cutting its way to the requisite depth. The length is divided into nine sections of three to four miles, each an independent unit under separate superintendence. What is visible as yet is described as "seeming chaos."

Engines and endless trains of trucks (says the article) hurry over mazes

of railway, fragmentary bits of cutting in some places, and embanking at others; rural colonies of workmen's wooden houses suggestive of the bush or the backwoods; green fields and ground of all sorts suddenly converted into contractors' yards, offices, and workshops; a day-long uproar (sometimes night-long also) of steaming, forging, hammering, digging, and building; all is controlled by master minds, but the outline of their plan seldom reveals itself to observation.

The original plan of a tidal canal was abandoned, on the representations of the engineer, Mr. Leader Williams, that its termination in an artificial ravine at Manchester would be a serious impediment to traffic, and a freshwater canal with four locks, giving an aggregate lift of 60 feet 6 inches, has been substituted. Water in abundance will be forthcoming, as the supply from the Mersey, Irwell, and minor streams will be supplemented by springs laid bare in cutting, and, if necessary, from the Thirlmere pipes now being laid to Manchester. The lower reaches are being cut entirely through the land skirting the southern shore of the estuary, which it enters at Eastham Ferry, about six miles inland from Birkenhead, nearly opposite the new growing port of Garston, on the Lancashire shore. The channel has to be cut in a great measure regardless of the rivers that feed it, crossing their tortuous beds at many points, and only utilizing them for short distances. The minimum depth of the canal will be 26 feet, the same as that of the Suez Canal, with a floor width varying from 120 feet to 170 feet, and a surface width of from 135 feet to 260 feet. Road and railway bridges crossing it are to leave 75 feet of clear headway, and steamers whose topmasts exceed this height will have room to pass by telescoping them. Those of the broadest beam will be able to pass each other in the navigable channel, and at the wider places the largest ships will be able to turn without obstructing the traffic. The locks are in sets of three, placed side by side, for the separate accommodation of barges and larger and smaller vessels. It is calculated that, with the minimum supply of water, the canal can pass daily 25 steamers of 2000 to 3000 tons, 50 of 500 to 2000 tons, and 100 barges of 50 to 100 tons.

The level of the canal at the entrance and lower reaches will, during the greater part of most tides, be that of the deep water outside, so that ships can enter it without being locked, and its promoters have dwelt on the fact, that the sill of the canal being deeper than that of any dock in Liverpool, enabling large vessels to enter through the locks of the canal during great part of every tide and smaller ones at nearly all tides, will give it an advantage over that port, which can only admit ships during a shorter period of each tide. It is declared that they will "very frequently be able to discharge at Manchester as soon as they would have been in any Liverpool dock." Very large dock accommodation will be provided; those at Latchford will cover 23 acres, and the combined area of the three sets at Manchester will be over 62 acres. The contractor is Mr. Walker, of Westminster, and the price £5,750,000, of which £500,000 may be paid in shares. A Manchester weekly, the *Manchester Merchant*,

makes ship canal news, with engravings and descriptions, one of its leading features.

The Silk Industry in Asia Minor.—A recent book by Mr. Cochran,* gives interesting details of the methods practised by the silk growers of the Smyrna district, from personal observation during an entire season. The diseases which had wrought such havoc among the silkworms in Europe spread to Asia Minor in 1857, resulting eventually in the almost total abandonment of sericulture. Its revival is mainly due to the efforts of Mr. John Griffitt, of Bournabat, Vice-Consul for the United States at Smyrna, who, by the use of Pasteur's method, has succeeded in raising perfectly healthy seed, or *graine*, for distribution to the peasantry of the neighbourhood. A system of selection and isolation is the one practised, the worms being reared in separate cells, that the diseased might not contaminate the healthy, and the latter only are allowed to survive. Eggs, moths, cocoons, and worms are subjected to strict microscopical examination, and thus, by carrying on the process of elimination during a series of generations, a perfectly healthy race is eventually secured. The most minute care is moreover required in regard to temperature, cleanliness, ventilation, as well as in the preparation and supply of the food of the voracious little creatures, which in the earlier stages of their existence require the mulberry-leaves to be finely shred, and in the later must be continuously fed from 5 A.M. to 11 P.M. When about to undergo transformation their translucent bodies are seen to be stuffed with amber silk, with which they are so heavy as to be liable to burst if they fall from a height of a few feet.

Breeds of Silkworms.—The diseases which destroy them are *pebrane*, visible in dark spots on the body, and caused by parasites or corpuscles distributed through the whole texture of the organism, and *flacherie*, attributed to general flaccidity of fibre, and resulting in imperfect digestion and development of ferments in the diseased structure. The regenerated seed produced by Mr. Griffitt is eagerly competed for among the peasants of the neighbourhood, who pay by a percentage on their harvest, varying with their distance from the centre of distribution. Different breeds threatened with extinction by disease have been restored to vitality in his nurseries, the large white Bagdad worms, or a cross between them and a strong yellow race, promising to be the most remunerative. In the hatching of these hybrid eggs a curious freak of nature almost invariably occurs in the appearance among the brood of a few dark-brown individuals, from which a distinct race may be eventually reared. The striking results of the silk-harvest of 1885, when Mr. Griffitt's system had begun to work, are an encouragement for its further extension. His own produce, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of seed, yielding 60,000 insects, was 255lb. of cocoons, or 170lb. per oz. of eggs hatched, while that of the farmers, whom

* "Pen and Pencil in Asia Minor." By Wm. Cochran. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1887.

he supplied with seed, was 115lb. to the ounce. These figures far surpass those of the average returns for France and Italy, which are respectively 77lb. and 62lb. per ounce of eggs, thus showing that the scientific breeding of insects may be made as remunerative as that of quadrupeds.

Manufacture of Turkey Carpets.—The great seat of this industry, according to the author we have been quoting, is the village of Oushak, containing about 3500 houses, and situated on a plateau 3000 feet above the sea, 70 miles from the railway, and accessible only by a rude bridle-path, over which the most valuable carpets are transported on camel-back. The term "Turkey carpet," as used in Europe, applies almost exclusively to the products of this place, though two other towns—Ghiordes and Koula—each with a population of 12,000, and situated within a radius of 150 miles from Smyrna, are engaged in the same industry to a smaller extent. The wool employed, that of the fat-tailed sheep, obtained from Turkoman tribes in the vicinity, is combed and spun by the old women of the town, after being washed in an adjoining stream. The yarn is loosely spun, giving a special softness both of colour and texture to the resulting fabric; and a recent attempt to replace hand-spinning by machinery had to be abandoned, as the goods thus produced had the unyielding hardness of those made in Europe. A local market takes place once a week for the sale of the yarn, the dyeing of which is now a separate industry. The old vegetable dyes, which had been abandoned for a time in favour of more glaring colours, are now in vogue again, madder being used for the reds, valonia for cream-colour and browns, indigo for blues, yellow berries for the reds and greens, and cochineal, to a limited extent, for some of the purplish tones. The looms, which are rudely though strongly built, stand in open sheds in the courtyards of almost all the houses, and mechanical appliances contribute little to the perfection of the result. "In forming the pile and pattern" (says our author) "little tufts of coloured yarns, taken from bobbins suspended above the weavers are tied to the warp in rows; the woof is passed by hand without the aid of a shuttle, when the pile and woof are driven closely together with a heavy wooden comb, and the tufts clipped short and smooth with picturesque-looking shears." The weavers are paid but 4*d.* or 5*d.* for an average day's work.

Devastation by Crickets in Algeria.—The *Times* Paris correspondent, writing on May 7, describes the ravages of a plague of crickets by which Algeria is afflicted, succeeding to one of grasshoppers in the preceding year. The present destroyers resemble both locusts and grasshoppers, without being identical with either. They spring like the latter, but have a more rapid and sustained flight, like the former. They move in such masses as to form clouds, shutting out the light of the sun, and when they alight on the ground destroy every trace of vegetation. When they fall exhausted to the earth their numbers are such as to cover it with a dense layer giving rise to

noxious exhalations, and the railway trains between Constantine and Batna are stated to have been stopped by their accumulation on the line. The method still employed to check their advance is the old and expensive one of digging long trenches at right angles to the line of flight of the approaching swarms, and placing on the furtherside a sort of fence formed by a web of cloth. This being struck by the insects they fall into the pit, and are then covered with lime or mould. The Algerian authorities have already spent 700,000 francs, and contemplate a further expenditure of 1,000,000 francs, in trying to destroy them by this means. A more radical method of cure is practised by the British authorities in Cyprus for the extirpation of locusts, which are traced to their breeding-places and there destroyed in the earlier phases of their existence, before developing into the destructive swarms that periodically ravaged the island. Later accounts (June 11) represent the plague as still more formidable, and the province of Constantine as in panic at the approach of a swarm in a dense mass twelve miles broad by six deep.

Buried Cities in Arizona.—A recent traveller in Arizona, Mr. Frank Cushing, has, according to the *American Naturalist*, discovered the remains of two ancient cities, believed to have been inhabited by the ancestors of the present Zuni Indians, a tribe into which Mr. Cushing was adopted some years ago, being initiated into the mysteries of the priesthood. While with them during the spring of 1887, at a place called Tempe, about thirty miles from Maricopa, a station on the Southern Pacific Railway, he heard of a large truncated mound in the desert some six or seven miles distant. He examined it, and, concluding it to be artificial, had it opened, when the ruins of a great building were brought to light, which, from its correspondence in many points to the observances of the present Zuni religion, was obviously a temple. Further exploration discovered the city to which it had belonged, which appeared to have been three miles in length, and in some places one in width, irregularly laid out in large blocks or squares of houses, and surrounded by a high wall. Its ruin was evidently the work of an earthquake; the *adobe* walls had fallen outwards, shaken from the foundations, the roofs had fallen in, crushing everything, even to the cooking vessel standing on the fire, as well as many bodies found among the débris. The graves of priests, found within the houses, contained cooking utensils and pottery, decorated like that in use among the tribe at the present day, but ordinary cemeteries, where bodies were disposed of both by cremation and interment, were located outside the walls. No implement of metal was found. To this city Mr. Cushing has given the name of Los Muertos, and to a second, where extensive irrigation works existed in connection with a river some miles off, that of Los Acequias. A Boston lady, Mrs. Augustus Hemenway, supplies the funds for excavation, and American and foreign archaeologists are now assisting Mr. Cushing in his work.

Tank Restoration in Ceylon.—A succession of festivities and ceremonies were held in the last week of February 1887, at Kala-

wewa in Northern Ceylon, to celebrate the restoration of its great tank by the Government. The policy of restoring the ancient irrigation works of the island, though not originated by Sir Arthur Gordon, will make his administration famous, for these huge reservoirs spread fertility and cultivation over large tracts, previously covered by morass and jungle. Districts in Northern Ceylon, which supported a large population in the early centuries of our era, have since become uninhabitable, from the destruction of the irrigation works of the ancient kings. The Colonial Government has, during the past years, devoted its energies to their restoration, and on Febrary 22 the Kalawewa tank, the largest and most important, was formally opened by the Governor. Constructed in 460 A.D. to supply the capital of Anuradhpura with water, it was fed by a canal fifty-four miles in length, which distributed water to a series of village tanks along its course. The great reservoir, with an area of 4425 acres, or about seven square miles, and a contour of thirty miles, is surrounded on all sides but one by high ground from which it is fed, while the open side is blocked by a Cyclopean embankment six miles long, 60 feet high, and 20 feet wide at the top, formed of large blocks of stone and earthwork, and provided with a fine spill wall, 260 feet long, 200 feet wide, and about 40 feet high. A breach of 1000 feet wide, the work of a heavy flood or an invader, which destroyed the tank at some unknown period, has now been repaired, and the tank, with its area of seven miles, covered to a depth of 20 feet, has resumed its function of supplying villages over a district as large as an English county, and replenishing other centres of distribution to a distance of fifty miles.—*Times*, April 3, 1888.

Gipsies and Jews in Central Asia.—An article on the Syr Darya region, in a recent number of the *Russische Revue*, states that among the inhabitants are two tribes of gipsies, the Masang and Ljuli, the former of whom are believed, though without any certain knowledge as to the when and how, to have migrated from Turkey, and the latter from India. Both are Mohammedans, and both speak Turkish and Persian. The Masang wander from town to town and from settlement to settlement, as small traders and pedlars, while the Ljuli (probably the same as the Persian Luri) lead a half-nomad life, living in winter in the settlements of other races, and in summer moving about with their possessions among the cultivated oases, earning a living by the usual gipsy tricks—the children by begging, dancing, singing, and tumbling; women by fortune telling, quackery, and the practice of minor rogueries. The two tribes together number only about 500 to 600 families, scattered through the province. Throughout Central Asia there are recognized two classes of Jews, one composed of immigrants from Russia, settled mainly in Tashkend, as artisans, traders, and usurers, in numbers small as yet, but yearly increased by fresh arrivals. The local Jews, who originally came from Persia, called Iuguts, or in Tashkend, Bokhariot Jews, were, before the Russian conquest, despised and oppressed by the natives of the country, were compelled to live in separate quarters of the

towns, and were not allowed to ride in the streets, or wear any other girdle than a common rope knotted round the waist. Now that these vexatious distinctions have been abolished, their numbers are also increasing by immigration from Persia and Bokhara, but as yet they are reckoned as no more than 1000 persons of both sexes, employed likewise as artisans, pedlars, and usurers.

Route from Assam to Upper Burmah.—The recent expedition of Mr. Needham, Captain Michell, and Mr. Ogle, despite many difficulties from coolies and weather, is thought to have established the practicability of the much needed route from the Valley of the Brahmaputra to that of the Irawadi. The starting point of the party was Makum, the terminus of a railway connecting that point with the head of steam navigation on the Brahmaputra. The crossing of the dividing range was effected under considerable difficulties, owing to incessant rains and the necessity of cutting a passage through the thick brushwood for the elephants, but the important fact was elicited that the gradients were very easy, the rise of 920 feet from Nimrong to the top of the Patkoi Mountains (4200 feet) being spread over thirty miles, and the descent into Upper Burmah on the other side being of the same gradual character. Although the entire route was not surveyed, owing to the failure to effect a junction with the Burmese expedition from Mogoung, enough has been accomplished to corroborate the arguments of Mr. Holt Hallett and others as to the facility of communication by this route, and the possibility of its being made the line of a road, or even railway. The existence of a large coal supply at Makum, where extensive collieries are already being worked by the Assam Railways and Trading Company, would much favour the construction of the latter, and help to establish this route as the future line of railway communication between India and China.

Exploration of the Source of the Brahmaputra.—The identity of the great Tibetan river, the Sangpo, with the Brahmaputra, has been conclusively ascertained by one of the Indian native surveyors, styled K. P., in a recent exploration of the North-east frontier of India. The contrary view, that the Irawadi was the lower course of this stream, had been upheld down to recent years, but the question may now be considered as finally set at rest. K. P., a native of Sikkim, set out on his first journey as early as 1868, and discovered that the Sangpo made a great northerly bend before trending southward, but 150 miles of its lower course still remained to be accounted for, and to cover this gap he undertook a second journey in company with a Chinese lama, with orders to trace the southern bend of the river, or, should that prove impracticable, to throw logs into its current, for which a strict look out was to be kept in British territory. The lama turned traitor, sold his companion as a slave in the Pemakhoi country north of Assam, and decamped with the proceeds to China. K. P., thus left in captivity, succeeded eventually in making his escape, and traced the Sangpo to a point further south, where it falls in a grand cascade 150 feet high and spanned by a rainbow, into a dark

lake girdled with lofty cliffs. The Abbé Desgodins, a French missionary resident on the eastern frontier of Tibet, had previously reported the existence of this fall, which explains the difference in level between the channel of the Sangpo through the cold Tibetan plateau and its lower course through the torrid valley of Assam, representing a descent averaging about forty feet per mile. K. P. eventually reached Onlet, a short stage from a place called Miri Padam, on the Sangpo, resorted to by Assamese traders, and here he was told that he was within thirty-five miles of the plains of India, and believed he could see the haze above the Assamese valley as he looked down the river towards the eastern horizon.

Country of the Deb Raja.—To the exploration of another native traveller, known by the initials R. N., the Indian Government owes the first connected account that has been received of Bhutan since Captain Boileau Pemberton's mission to the Court of the Deb Raja in 1837-38. It is a singular fact that this tributary State, barely 100 miles in width, and marching with British territory throughout its whole extent, should have been until now so absolutely a *terra incognita* that the course of its greatest river was unknown to English geographers, though its whole drainage discharges through Indian territory. The explorer, R. N., entered the country at its western extremity, where it abuts on the strip of Tibet whence an attack was recently made on British troops in Sikkim. Following the ordinary trade route in a north-easterly direction, he found traces of the Bhutan war evident throughout Kurmed, in deserted terraces and ruined houses, as well as in the remains of the military roads made by the British forces. The river Diri Chu was crossed by a substantial chain bridge of great antiquity, about 350 feet long, and this part of the country was found to be inhabited by a race called Chingmis, described as of amiable disposition, and inhabiting dwellings better constructed than those of the Bhutanese. Both sexes wear pigtails, and the women's dress approximates to that of the Kumaun tribes, but the men's resembles that of the Bhutanese, who form the whole official class of the country.

Manners of the Bhutanese.—These latter, whether of high or low degree, have the same indispensable equipments for travel, consisting of a long sword of native manufacture, three wooden cups fitting one inside the other, and a handkerchief. They are addicted to the use of intoxicants made from different kinds of grain, to chewing betel nut, and eating chillies in large quantities. They are said to be fiery tempered and easily provoked to anger.

When the Deb Raja or any of the powerful chiefs is on a journey, messengers are sent in advance to the villages along the route, whose inhabitants are required to light fires and burn scented woods to purify the air. The retainers on these occasions form a long procession, led by the luggage-carriers, after whom comes an escort of soldiers in various picturesque costumes; then the flag-bearer with a drum and fife band, a long string of richly caparisoned horses and mules, a troop of minor officials, two buffoons attired in gaudy silk costumes,

cutting capers and beating drums, and finally the Raja or chieftain, followed by a crowd of miscellaneous attendants.

The lamas or priests wear caps, the laymen puggarees, and their garments, reaching to the knee, are met by gaiters or long woollen stockings, with leather shoes as foot-gear. The women have clothes descending to their ankles, and are covered with ornaments. Both sexes shave their heads, with the exception of the Chingmi women, who wear their hair long. Polygamy has, since the date of Captain Pemberton's visit, much decreased, and the women enjoy perfect freedom. Costly marriage ceremonies are confined to the rich, among whom the bridegroom's parents are expected to give money for the dowry, and clothes and jewels to the bride, sometimes expending as much as 800 rupees. Muzzle-loading guns, with either flint locks or percussion caps, are both manufactured in the country and imported from Nepaul, and shields, proof against their penetrating power, are used, as well as native swords of highly tempered steel and very pliant. Feuds between the chieftains are often decided by single combat. Taxes are paid in local produce by the villages, which also maintain and construct the roads and bridges in their respective districts. The currency, coined in part by the Government, is in gold and silver coin. The chief monastery is Tashichu-jong, but it contains no more than 300 priests, an insignificant figure beside the thousands in the Tibetan lamaseries.

Notes on Novels.

The Mystery of a Hansom Cab. By FERGUS W. HUME.
Melbourne. 1887.

A SHILLING "thriller," by an Australian, which has attained not only a sale of 125,000 copies, but the apotheosis of dramatization for the London stage, deserves to be treated seriously on the unquestionable ground of success. Nor is its reputation undeserved, for in the class of literature to which it belongs, that of the police-court story, dealing with the broader lights and shades of human nature, it is fairly entitled to a high place. The style is full of vitality; curiosity is held suspended by an ingenious complication in the drama of crime, and incidental lights are thrown on Australian manners and society. The more refined reader may perhaps object to getting a little too much of the purlieus of Melbourne, and to the rude realism with which Mother Gutter-snipe and her den are pre-

sented to him. The new civilization, transplanted to such far distant lands, seems in some respects almost worse than the barbarism it supersedes.

Farebrother, the Miser. By B. L. FARJEON. London : Ward & Downey. 1888.

ANY one acquainted with Mr. Farjeon's style knows that a mysterious murder with a police investigation, and full-length reports from the daily papers, must occur somewhere within the compass of the three volumes. In this case the usual ingredients are heightened by the conviction for parricide of the innocent and lovely daughter of the murdered miser, mainly in consequence of a mistake as to the hue of her dress by a colour-blind witness. As in all criminal fiction, the blundering folly of the good people throws the game into the hands of the scheming villain, who, with his equally villainous mother, is here an obvious reproduction of Uriah Heep and his unpleasant parent.

Narka. By KATHLEEN O'MEARA. London : R. Bentley. 1888.

THE tyrannical oppression of Russian despotism has long been a favourite theme with novelists, and Miss O'Meara has added another to the list of those who seek their heroes and heroines among conspirators of that nation against the present order of society. A certain novelty and freshness, however, in her treatment of the subject enables us to forget that we are reading that most unsatisfactory of literary hybrids, a political novel, and gives an interest to the characters that carries us through their occasional aberrations into Nihilism and nitro-glycerine. The tangled skein of private and public intrigue is fairly unravelled in the end, though the heroine seems to us badly used in being deprived of her lover, and only compensated with the career of a prima donna, and an ovation at the San Carlo. A devoted Sister of Charity, charmingly described, furnishes an artistic foil to the more worldly characters, over whom she exercises a happy influence.

Joy Cometh in the Morning. By ALGERNON GISSING. London : Hurst and Blackett. 1888.

A STAGE-COACH accident, which deposits one of the passengers into the midst of the characters of Mr. Gissing's pretty, old-fashioned tale of rural life. The traveller comes upon a clue by which the secret of his birth is gradually unravelled, and finds his fortunes bound up with a mysterious manor-house, where the blind heroine

is secluded from the outer world by the machinations of an evil guardian. Granted the antecedent improbability of this state of things, the story of her deliverance is very prettily worked out, and the devotion of the zealous young vicar who aids in it, and in whom, despite her misfortune, she inspires a passionate attachment, is fittingly rewarded by the gift of her hand and fortune in the third volume. The disabled traveller, who turns out to be her nearest relation, has not been meantime left without the congenial occupation which Mr. Watts tells us is plentifully provided for idle hands by infernal agency, and has wrecked the happiness of two pretty rustic sisters by transferring his affections from one to the other with cold-blooded cruelty. The blameless one recovers to recognize the worth of a more deserving suitor, but the other, whose coquetry has been her ruin, dies heart-broken at the abandonment of her treacherous lover. All these elements, combined with a graceful power of narration, form a whole with a sufficiently distinctive character to hold a place of its own amid the innumerable multitude of contemporary novels.

Chris. By W. E. NORRIS. London: Macmillan. 1888.

MR. NORRIS narrates, with his usual lightness of touch, the adventures and misadventures of a bright interesting girl, Christina, or "Chris," Compton. The scene opens at Cannes, but is quickly changed to London, when the heroine, orphaned by the sudden death of her father, is transferred from the fashionable circles he had moved in, to the guardianship of a miserly aunt, and the obscurity of a poor residence remote from the haunts of the great world. To the latter she is, however, temporarily restored by an invitation to a country-house, where she captivates—first, a drunken squire, to whom her worldly hostess seeks to marry her, and, secondly, the son of the latter, an impecunious attaché, while she has, meantime, a third lover in the background, in the shape of a penniless but good-looking scamp, with whom she had when little more than a child allowed herself to be drawn into a sort of semi-engagement. A chance meeting with all three in the Bois de Boulogne is so contrived as to leave the two former under the impression that she has eloped with the latter, while she has really fled from her aunt's house alone, in a fit of not unreasonable anger at the poisoning of her favourite dog. All difficulties are solved by the opportune death of the obnoxious relative, bequeathing an inheritance of ninety thousand pounds, by the help of which the claims of Cupid and Mammon are happily reconciled in the end. It must be admitted that the love-making throughout is of a very half-hearted character, the hero's passion seems to smoulder conveniently during the eclipse of his lady love's fortunes, while, as she only discovers the state of her affections some months after parting from him, we may fairly surmise that she would not have been inconsolable had he never reappeared.

Tony, the Maid. By BLANCHE W. HOWARD. London : Sampson Low. 1888.

THIS sparkling novelette opens brilliantly, but degenerates, ere its close, into farce that ceases to be humorous, and the interest of the reader is alienated when the amiable but feeble-minded American spinster, who rejoices in the services of the incomparable "Tony," alias Antoninia, makes so sorry an exhibition of her feminine weakness. The manners of the travelling English are sharply satirized, but the authoress lays herself open to the retort that the exaggerated punctilio of our countrywomen would, by most Europeans, be considered preferable to that freedom of manners in hers which admits of an active flirtation with a common boatman.

A Counsel of Perfection. By LUCAS MALET. London : Kegan Paul. 1888.

TALE like this, pitched throughout in the minor key, is not a very exhilarating variation on the commonplace type of novel. Its subject, the first love episode which breaks the monotony of the life of a staid spinster of thirty-seven, is not interesting in proportion to its novelty, and the old-fashioned heroine of blushing seventeen will still bear the palm with the ordinary reader. The attraction of the prim and faded prettiness of Lydia Casteen for the shallow sentimentalist, Anthony Hammond, is scarcely made intelligible, and his constancy, after some interludes of wavering, seems inconsistent with the caprice of so light a nature. Her final sacrifice of happiness to duty, represented by a querulous and exacting student-father, forms a dreary ending to a dreary tale. Some of the secondary characters are hit off with graphic touches, and the incidental sketches of the scenery and surroundings of Interlaken will suggest pleasant memories to those who have sojourned in that metropolis of tourists.

The Strange Adventures of a House-boat. By WILLIAM BLACK. London : Sampson Low. 1888.

THAT considerable section of the public which takes its pleasure in freshwater aquatics will find agreeable associations in Mr. Black's itinerary of an inland voyage from the Thames through the Midlands, and back by the canal system of the southern counties. The unamphibious reader will, on the other hand, find the ordinary incidents of such a journey somewhat over lengthily described, while the thread of romance running through them is of the slightest. There is, however, some ingenuity in the surprise sprung on the reader in the second volume, when the eligible young man, destined apparently by the author, as well as by the chaperone of the party, to mate with the heroine as the inevitable result of the trip, relinquishes his place in favour of a Scotch colonel, introduced for the

first time on the scene by this shuffling of the cards. Seen through a halo of Highland romance and Jacobite tradition, he quickly captivates the pretty American girl, whose banjo and golden-brown hair have produced a like effect upon him, and their unhindered wooing pursues its calm course throughout the rest of the voyage. The perpetual chorus of laudation in which Mr. Black's other characters combine to sing the praises of his heroine become slightly nauseating after a time, and it seems open to doubt whether the minds of any class of people in real life are so unceasingly occupied with the perfections of their friends. It also seems a little hard on English girls, not only to see themselves eclipsed by their American sisters in real life, but to have to yield the *pas* to them in fiction as well.

John Westacott: a Novel. By JAMES BAKER. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1888.

WE are informed that this is a second edition, and Mr. Baker expresses his gratitude to his "critics," who have been "kind to a fault." On looking at the extracts from reviews printed at the end of the volume, we find that the *Blackburn Standard* and the *Bristol Times* are the most laudatory. The *Spectator* contents itself with calling it "effective." The *Yorkshire Herald*, to be sure, says it is "inexpressibly fine;" but the wary reader knows that kind of phrase. If he takes up the book himself, he will find a fairly written story, quite unexciting, and much too long drawn out. There is some pretty writing about Bohemian scenery, and the character and surroundings of the heroine, Lieschen, are made somewhat interesting by dint of insistence on details. But the book is trying to read. The writer must be a lady—there is so much fuss about the mooning "aspirations" of the poor girl, such an unsteady hand in the delineation of the young Englishman of the period, and so much lady-like prose in the shape of reflections. The men have a burlesque swagger about them, as if they were women masquerading in men's clothes. The tragedy, such as it is, is the tragedy of "Faust" over again; and the writer commits the mistake, which English people usually make, of leaving out the religious element altogether. The Catholic girl, brought up in the practice of Mass, confession, and holy Communion, is represented as having no more faith or religious principle than the ordinary English parson's daughter, whose "religion" usually consists of her social environment. Hence the tale is unreal, and not very edifying.

The Lindsays; a Romance of Scottish Life. By JOHN K. LEYS. Three Vols. London: Chatto & Windus. 1888.

IT is not difficult for a moderately skilled novelist to make a good deal out of the old machinery of a millionaire, a will, and a forgery; and Mr. Leys has succeeded in making his romance interesting. But there are symptoms about the book which betray

the existence in the writer's breast of a nobler ambition than merely to tell a good story. The reader once or twice is led to think himself in for a religious novel. There are some very clever, if caustic, sketches of clergymen and clerical doings. The author's experiences are all on the north of the Tweed. The Kirk of Scotland and the Free Kirk are described with a light and easy touch, but in a way that makes one feel the writer has no sympathy with either. An honest but undecided medical student, a Highlander, and the only character in the book who is not either narrow or indifferent, appears here and there and enlivens the story with a good deal of humorous observation. He thus describes the two rival communions at Glenstruan :—

There's old Mr. Macfarlane, the parish minister. He's a decent man—a ferry decent man. He ladles oot castor oil an' cod-liver oil as occasion requires to the haeil parish, an' the next aye tae, without fee or reward. He's a great botanist, and spends half his time in his garden—grows a' sorts o' fruit, even peaches—I've been told. When the weather's suitable he gangs fishing. On Sabbath he has apoot forty folk in his big barn o' a kirk. . . . There's Maister MacPherson, the Free Kirk minister. He's a wee, soor, black-avised crater, wi' a wife an' nine weans. He's just eaten up wi' envy an' spite that the parish minister has the big hoose, and he has the wee aene. He mak's his sermons dooble as lang to let folk see that he does a' the wark (i. 133).

The hero is one of those tall, ungainly, awkward, fine, handsome and unconventional Scottish heroes, who conform to a well-known type created by Mr. William Black. He has a father, a Scottish farmer, narrow and exasperating enough to explain John Knox and all his doings ; also a sister who carries out the family type, as modified in a handsome girl, with a cleverness which shows the author to understand character. There are two other young ladies, not much more than lay figures, to provide the needful amount of falling in and out of love ; and two uncles, both rich, in whose homes the younger people live and have opportunities for the love-making, in the character of wards, cousins, nephews, and nieces, and other convenient relationships. There are some villains, the falsification of a will, and a trial, in which the incompetence of the lawyers on both sides is only to be excused by the requirements of the story. The unconventional hero gets very badly treated at one time, and is reduced to the verge of consumption, although he has a "phenomenally" splendid physique. Of course he goes to Australia, and comes back in that distressingly strong and bronzed condition which is the prelude to somebody leaving him an immense fortune. He then seeks out one of the young lady characters, who has been "expiating" at Brighton as a governess in a purgatory consisting of pert, ugly, and unpleasant children (girls), and, having asked her to marry him, finds she loved him "even then"—viz., when she refused him once before. There is no more, but this sounds promising. The novel is well worth reading, being both clever and good.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica.

Political Economy.—Among the several series of subjects in process of being treated in the pages of this periodical, we would desire to draw special attention to those on Political Economy, embracing as they do questions of most vital importance and interest at the present day, such as the rights of property, the nature of riches and national wealth, and the respective positions and rights of proprietors, of tenants, and of labourers. The opinions of the chief writers on this subject which have obtained credit and authority are always clearly stated, and then tried and sifted by the principles of reason and Christian morality, and what is erroneous or defective in them is lucidly indicated. The subject in the number for the 18th of February is the threefold partition of produced riches, namely, the division of these productions among those who have concurred in producing them—that is, as shown in a previous article, the proprietor, who furnishes the natural agents in their production; the capitalist, who anticipates the necessary expenses; and the workman, who contributes his labour. The writer more than once signifies his disagreement with Ricardo, McCulloch, Mill, and their followers. When the series is complete it will form a most solid and useful treatise on the subject of political economy, and will probably be published in that form.

A Monument to Padre Malagrida.—In these days, when the mania of erecting monuments has invaded Italy, and that, commonly, to individuals of very mediocre pretensions to merit of any order, to say no worse, and simply on account of their disobedience and hostility to the Church, it is refreshing to find the inhabitants of the little Borgo of Menaggio on Lake Como engaged in placing in their parish church a beautiful memorial of a truly great man, their saintly compatriot, the Apostle of Brazil, P. Gabriel Malagrida, of the Society of Jesus, who, in 1761, crowned his apostleship in Lisbon by the martyrdom of the stake, to which he was condemned by Pombal out of hatred to religion and in particular to the Jesuits, to whom, however, that wretched man was indebted for the attainment of the coveted power which he used for their destruction as well as the ruin of all the good works over which they presided, both in the Old and New World. The memory of Malagrida lay for a long time obscured and oppressed under the weight of the atrocious calumnies which his persecutor, not content with having done him to death, continued

to disseminate against him; but at last it has triumphed over all, and come forth in all its stainless purity, with that glorious aureole of sanctity which his contemporaries, and among them the Sovereign Pontiff, honoured in that great servant of God, a sanctity attested by countless miracles. We regret that we cannot do more than draw attention to the two interesting articles (in the numbers for January 5 and February 18) devoted to a sketch of his career. A third has appeared, giving the story of his martyrdom.

The Vatican Exhibition.—An enumeration and description of the different objects of note in the Vatican Exposition continue to occupy a considerable number of pages in each issue of the *Civiltà Cattolica*. It must be a laborious work, desiring, as the writers do, to give satisfaction to the contributors, and omit nothing which can be considered to deserve notice. Yet it must be hard to draw a line where often the zeal and devotion exhibited by donors, poor in this world's goods, seem in one way to entitle to a record their less costly offerings quite as much as the more valuable gifts of the wealthy.

7 April, 1888.

Leo XIII., the Providential Pope in the Nineteenth Century.—The first article in the issue of April 7 contains a vindication of Leo XIII.'s peculiar claims to this title. When a Pope exercises his apostolic ministry in a manner strikingly suited to the wants of the Church according to the circumstances of the times, we feel that he has been conceded to men by the special and loving Providence of God, and hence we call him a Providential Pope. The writer proceeds, after describing the state of the world, socially, intellectually, politically, and religiously, when Leo was chosen to take the helm of the tempest-tossed bark of Peter, which all the powers of earth and hell seemed banded together to engulf, to cast a rapid glance at the means which this great Pontiff, confident in the promises of God, has adopted to meet and allay the storm. The position in which he found himself bristled with difficulties. Without army, without treasury, deprived of all human aid, Leo appeared before the powers of the world, dominated by the Masonic sects, as heretofore the unarmed David presented himself before the giant, who, scoffing and blaspheming God, swore that he would give his flesh as a prey to the birds of the air and the beasts of the field. Humanly speaking, the cause of the Papacy seemed doomed.

The first thing to which the Pontiff addressed himself was to grapple with one of the strongest roots of the prevailing evils. He considered that this was to be found in the vitiated philosophic and scientific teaching of the schools, whence issued the poison propagated both orally and in the press, penetrating everywhere, and universally infecting education, whether speculative or practical.

To tear up this pernicious root was no slight undertaking. There were few even of Catholic schools which did not more or less adhere to the Cartesian philosophy, the principles of which are irreconcilable with pure Catholic doctrine. It was the origin of the materialism which has tainted the sciences, as the idealistic philosophy of Germany gave birth to the multifold forms of modern Pantheism. To obtain a thorough reform in the field of philosophy, the wise and prudent Pontiff did not put forth dogmatic definitions, but took a milder, but most efficacious line. In his Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, he held up the philosophic doctrine of St. Thomas as the guide to be followed in all Catholic schools, and pointed out the merits and superiority of his teaching over all other systems, of which he exposed the errors and dangers. In all the ecclesiastical colleges where professors teach in the name of the Church, and are therefore bound to obey the bishops, who are responsible for the education and instruction of their clergy, the banner thus raised by the Pontiff was followed with general alacrity. In a very short time the Angelic Doctor was held in his former high esteem, and this naturally reacted on the laity; so that, after many years of neglect and almost contempt into which the saint's doctrine had fallen, it began once more to be favourably regarded and made the basis of philosophic teaching in numerous schools conducted by lay teachers. The unspeakable value of this victory in the realm of ideas we have yet fully to realize. The Pontiff proceeded to put forth many striking documents concerning the duties of Christians, the right notion of the Christian family, and of the laws which govern civil society; and he made open war on the Masonic sects, exposing their pernicious character and ends. From his very first encyclical Leo XIII. thus manifested himself as the restorer of true wisdom, and his words were very generally regarded with even a certain respect outside the boundaries of the Church. The sects alone stood apart, gnashing their teeth, and vowing yet fiercer hostility against the Papacy, with a still firmer resolve, if possible, to annihilate it.

The writer then goes on to give a brief sketch of Leo's further conquests: how, by his mingled prudence, patience, forbearance, and firmness, he has won the esteem and consideration of those Governments which, at the outset of his Pontificate, were all either openly hostile or coldly indifferent. His success was the more wonderful, as the position of the Pope with regard to the Italian Government, ruled by the sects, was more critical than ever. Of all human power and all human help he was utterly despoiled; but Divine wisdom was with him, and guided his counsels. His triumph as respects Germany, where the Kulturkampf reigned at his accession, is fresh in all our memories; and the saying of the man of iron, the great German Chancellor, who, vanquished by his experience of Papal truth and justice, exclaimed, "We have gone to Rome without passing by Canossa"—is still ringing in our ears. Nay, more, we have seen the Pope chosen by the leading Protestant power in Europe as the arbiter of its political differences with a Catholic

State—differences which threatened to result in war—and receiving his verdict with as complete acquiescence as could have been manifested in mediæval times. The thoughts and anticipations which this fact arouses in our minds seem to carry us onwards to far larger issues in, perhaps, not a very remote future, which are indicated by the reviewer.

In conclusion, he dwells on the last event of this great Pontificate, which has borne so splendid a testimony to the justice and wisdom of the policy adopted by Leo XIII.—namely, the celebration of his sacerdotal jubilee, when, not Catholic Governments alone, but Protestant and even non-Christian States—Mahometan and Pagan—combined to evince their goodwill, sending him special embassies, precious gifts, and the most respectful and friendly congratulations, expressed in terms of the highest esteem. History, in all its annals, cannot record such a rich, solemn, and universal demonstration in honour of either Pope or monarch. Most true, therefore, was the inscription, written in letters of gold, in the great hall where Leo inaugurated the exposition of gifts: “Rome and the world to Leo XIII.” For, be it remembered, the true Rome, not the imported and official, is his in heart and soul. We refer our readers to the article itself for the conclusions and well-grounded hopes which may be derived from this marvellous act of homage of the entire world to the Vicar of Christ.

21 April, 1888.

The Masonic Sect and the Anti-Masonic League.—After the Pope had published the Encyclical *Humanum genus* in condemnation of the Masonic sect, an Anti-Masonic League, as we know, was formed, with the object of preserving Catholics from the venom of its errors, and to combat its operations, so detrimental to the order of Christian society. The League was favoured by the Holy Father with many privileges and graces. In Spain it has been largely propagated, to the great alarm of the Freemasons, as is proved by a document issued by the great Central Lodge of Madrid of the Scotch Rite, and addressed to all the lodges in the Peninsula. The reviewer gives it verbatim, both in the original Spanish and in Italian. We commend it to the notice of those who consider Freemasonry as a harmless and even benevolent institution. Here, at least, its aims are openly avowed, which may be summed up under three heads. 1. To combat Catholicism. 2. To pervert youth. 3. To deprave woman—man's fair companion, as it calls her—so miserably immured in Spain. The Jesuits figure, as usual, in a position highly honourable to them, that of being reckoned by the devil's agents as prime movers in compassing the destruction of the “sacred” work—accursed, we should say—which they have in hand. The document, indeed, attributes the authorship of the League to this Society; “more occult than their own Freemasonry, but which the practised eye can discern everywhere, whether under the cassock

of the priest or the garb of the gentleman." It professes not to believe, however, that the Society of Jesus has recovered its former vital energy and prestige; all the same, it is clearly afraid of it, and adds that, if Freemasonry does not wish to be destroyed in detail, its adepts must rally round their banner. In like manner, while speaking with much contempt of a recent homily of the Bishop of Oviedo, directed against Freemasonry, and while making light, in particular, of his exhortation to combat it by the recitation of the Rosary, these "venerable masters" are evidently alarmed at his denunciations, perhaps not a little even by his Rosary; at least, the document flings over the subject in an almost ludicrous style. Amongst the directions given to their followers, we may specify a particular specimen of boycotting which is recommended—namely, a prohibition "to buy anything at those public establishments which have over their doors the well-known inscription, "Not open on Feast-days."

19 *Maggio*, 1888.

Poland and Ireland.—In this number notice is taken in the *Cronaca Contemporanea* of the attempts made by the Liberalistic party to make capital of the Holy Father's action respecting Poland. It strives to represent him as sacrificing the most vital interests of souls in that country in order to ingratiate himself with the Russian Government, and thus serve the interests of his temporal power. A shameless lie, if ever there were such! Little, it may be supposed, do these men care for the souls of Polish Catholics. This sudden tenderness in their regard is, however, quite intelligible; it is a pretext which they hypocritically seize upon to vilify the Papacy. The conduct of Leo XIII., without taking into account the duties which bind the conscience of him who represents Christ upon earth, has been amply sufficient to prove that in endeavouring to renew relations with the Czar, the object he has at heart is to obtain for the persecuted Church of Poland a return of better days. It is to be hoped that the Poles will not permit themselves to be deluded by this sudden show of sympathy on the part of such suspicious friends. A parallel course is being pursued by the Masonic press of Italy with respect to the late Papal decree concerning Ireland. There, again, has been an outpouring of calumny and vituperation. The Masonic Jewish *Tribuno* has distinguished itself by its vile abuse. Affecting the same sudden tenderness for Ireland which has been manifested for Poland, it deplores its sad fate, and denounces as a flagrant error the Holy See's condemnation of "the Irish League and the whole Nationalist campaign." Now, as we know, the Pope has in no way condemned the National League, of which the Decree says not one word, nor is any *national* campaign censured. The English Government, observes the writer, would, no doubt, have desired that the Church should condemn Home Rule, that great movement, the aim of which is to vindicate for Ireland its autonomy and rights,

of which it was deprived by fraud and violence at the beginning of this century. But the Pope is the vindicator of justice and of charity, not the accomplice of oppressors. What, then, has he meant to say? Nothing more than that he disapproves of illicit means being used to shake off a galling yoke; such as violation of contracts, compulsion, and intimidation exercised over the will of others. In other words, the cause of Ireland is good, but not all the means which have been employed to forward it are justifiable. The writer adds that the English Government cannot but favourably regard the decision of Leo XIII., not, however, as service done to the dominant Tory party, but solely as an act of justice, which should contribute to diminish the number of offences in Ireland and confirm the people's minds in a sense of duty. Duty is the last theory which these Liberals choose to understand or recognize. Hence the *Tribuno* writes, "The people will accustom themselves to consider the Church as the enemy of their country, and the duties of a citizen as opposed to those of a Catholic;" as if Boycotting and the Plan of Campaign were the duty of a citizen, and constituted his legitimate and national means of obtaining and securing liberty. This is what they desire, and right glad would they be if they could by their lies and misrepresentations foment this spirit in Catholic Ireland as well as in Catholic Poland.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

1. *Katholik.*

THE March number contains a learned paper on Cardinal Pecci's recent dissertation on the Divine action on human will and *scientia media*. It would demand more space than is here available for a mere outline of this clever contribution. It must suffice here to give the substance of the concluding sentences of the article; future expositors of this weighty problem cannot afford to ignore the Cardinal's pamphlet. It is useless to attempt to explain God's influence on the human will by following the divines of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and assuming their *praemotio* and *praedeterminatio*. The Cardinal has succeeded in establishing that the latter distinction is totally at variance with the doctrine of St. Thomas. And, again, a solid explanation of God's infallible cognizance of future contingent human acts is not to be found in such a *scientia media* as is a species of the *scientia visionis*. The Cardinal has proved that according to St. Thomas the subject matter of the *scientia media* belongs to the *scientia intellectus*; but even admitting the *scientia media* it would be superfluous could it dispense with decrees of the Divine will.

Another article treats of St. Ambrose's doctrine on canon law. We become acquainted with the great doctor's teaching on the hierarchy, and the privileges enjoyed by the clergy and by Church estates; and this portion of the paper deserves special attention in our own day, when, as in Italy and France, the State has often not

shrunk from despoiling the Church of her most legitimate possession. The writer also explains the position of the Church towards the heathen State, and Ambrose's opinion on the principles which should lead us in treating with those who are outside the Church. St. Ambrose's mildness and clemency obtain high eulogy from the writer; inasmuch as he did not desire heathenism to be destroyed by force, and keenly disapproved the death sentence passed by Maximus on Priscillian.

Dr. Dillmann, from an Oxford Codex, published in his "Æthiopian chrestomathy" the "Oratio eucharistica Ioannis Chrysostomi." An article in the April issue of the *Katholik* gives a translation of this Æthiopian document, and enriches it by some critical remarks, from which we gather that the document which has been supposed to be a sermon delivered by St. John Chrysostom is rather a liturgy in the most sublime style.

2. Historisch-politische Blätter.

The March number brings to our notice a book which will deserve special attention in English-speaking countries. Father Baumgartner, the biographer of Göthe and Lessing, has now devoted a whole book to the great American poet Longfellow. Some idea of the purpose of this long-expected contribution to our literature may be gathered from the title: "Longfellow's Poems: a Picture of the Literary Life of North America." Father Baumgartner does not write a mere biography; he is chiefly occupied with the development of Longfellow's abilities and he judges them from the standpoint of Catholic doctrine. For, although Longfellow was not a Catholic, yet few will deny that Catholic sentiments and thoughts predominate in his chief poems. A special feature of Father Baumgartner's book is the beautiful German translations of the best poems of Longfellow, which for the most part we owe to Father Baumgartner himself, now acknowledged to be one of the best German prosaists of our time.

In the April number we have an account of the gifts presented to the Pope for his golden jubilee by the officials of the Vatican Archives and Library. First comes the gift of the sub-archivist, our learned German countryman, Father Denifle, of the Friars Preachers, "Specimina palaeographica Regestorum Romanorum Pontificum ad Innocentio III. ad Urbanum V." There are no less than sixty photographic plates, showing such important documents of the Papal registers as throw light on the development of writing. This great work, which henceforth must find a place in every great library, will be of immense service, not only to the paleographist, but also to students of ecclesiastical history, since Father Denifle dwells a good deal on the pontifical chancery during the time named. From among the valuable offerings of the Vatican librarians I must name one which is of English interest; it is De Rossi's "Dissertation on the Bible," offered by Abbot Ceolfrid, of Jarrow, to Pope Gregory II.

It is commonly styled the "Codex Amiatinus," and is preserved in the Lorenzo Library, in Florence; but henceforward this title ought to be corrected to that of the "Codex Ceolfridi." Catholic England may boast that the oldest codex of the *entire* Bible in Latin now existing comes to us from the Northumberland monks, and has been preserved by the Holy See, where the pious abbot Ceolfrid, out of devotion to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, had it deposited in A.D. 716.

English archaeologists will be interested in another article in the April number, which is concerned with the Rev. Joseph Liell's "The Pictures of Our Lady in the Catacombs" (Ratisbon, 1888). This work, which originated in Signor De Rossi's encouraging the author to undertake it, is based on assiduous studies in the Catacombs themselves, where our author was fortunate enough to find not a few pictures of Our Lady which had hitherto escaped the attention of archaeologists. Besides these representations of the Blessed Virgin we have a text in which the author is "apologetical," setting himself to destroy the numerous theories recently started in Germany by Protestant scholars, whose object—more or less avowed—is to do away with the solid results of the studies of Commendatore De Rossi. One rather novel and startling opinion of the Rev. Joseph Liell may be here stated. According to him the well-known "Orante" in the Catacombs is representative of the souls detained in purgatory and seeking for the suffrages of the faithful who visited the tomb.

The May issue has some instructive articles on the introduction of the Reformation into the Bishopric of Hildesheim. It perhaps deserves to be here mentioned that in this diocese was situated the English Benedictine monastery of Lambspring, where, in 1693, were deposited and preserved up to 1881 the remains of Venerable Oliver Plunket, the great Archbishop of Armagh, martyred in London in 1681.

3. *Stimmen aus Maria Lüach.*

The March *Stimmen* has a most instructive article from the pen of Father Plenkers, of Copenhagen, on the Catholic Church in Norway in the period preceding the Reformation. He dwells on recent Danish Protestant contributions to the Church history of Norway, supplementing them from his own large stores of study, and correcting not a few mistakes into which the Protestant historians fell when treating Catholic doctrines or institutions. Amongst these we mention Dr. Bang, professor of ecclesiastical history in Christiania, who in 1887 brought out his "Udsigt over den Norske Kirkes Historie under Katholicismen." In another article Father Jietman treats some grave questions of aesthetics; in another Father von Hammerstein examines recent Protestant statements of the proofs for God's existence as set forth in the text-books of our "gymnasiums." He shows that a want of close reasoning and antipathy to the Catholic Church has led to a weakening of the proofs thus set forth, by

appeals to religious *feeling* or belief, whereas the existence of God is a truth of natural religion, and can be proved by human reason apart from supernatural religion. Father Baumgartner sketches an attractive and vivid picture of St. Petersburg, and in the April number he gives fresh proof of his poetical talent by the splendid translation and explanation of the old northern Hymn to the Sun (Solar God). Father Lehmkuhl gives an interesting account of St. Peter Claver, recently canonized by Leo XIII., and he skilfully brings the lessons of this life of apostolic Christian charity to bear on the modern problems of social science. Father Hagen in his article gives an account of the scientific institutions at Washington.

4. Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.

Professor Pröpst has a commentary on the Spanish Liturgy, to the eighth century. Father Fenner treats of the difficult verse 16 of chapter xv. of Judges; whilst Father Michael treats of the Emperor Frederic II.'s opposition to Gregory IX. and Innocent IV.

A. BELLESHEIM.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Etudes religieuses, philosophiques, historiques, et littéraires. Revue mensuelle publiée par des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus. Paris : Avril, Mai, Juin, 1888.

AFTER having been discontinued, since their exile in the anti-religious persecution of some years ago in France, the *Etudes* once again makes its appearance, under the editorship of Fathers of the Society of Jesus. We gladly welcome its republication. The new issue began with January last, and, judging from the contents of the three numbers before us, the new series is going to keep up the high reputation long enjoyed by the old. The opening article in the April number, continued in that of May, is from the pen of Père Bonniot, and is entitled "Iconographie des Possessions."

Diabolical Possession in Art.—In these articles, M. Charcot, the learned professor of the Salpêtrière, is sharply taken to task for a work he has published ("Les démoniaques dans l'Art," par J. M. Charcot et Paul Richter), and in which he confidently presumes to show that instances of "possession," even evangelical ones—as represented in pictures which he has collected—are by the testimony of these faithful representations, only forms of the much talked-of "hysteria." M. Charcot has probably got hysteria on the brain; but so have not a few other, otherwise very prudent and able medical men and professors; and Père Bonniot rightly judges that such a publication deserves a more serious refutation than its intrinsic qualities merit because of the influence exercised by M. Charcot,

and of the harm he may thus effect. The writer disposes of M. Charcot very effectually, and of the condemnation in which he gratuitously and unjustly involves both the priest, the doctor, and the judge of past times. These are Père Bonniot's concluding words :—

Terminons par un corollaire. Notre siècle se vante de sa science, et, à certains égards, il a raison ; mais, dans les siècles précédents, à certains égards aussi, on a eu plus de véritable savoir et, en général, plus de modestie et de bon sens.

Blessed Grignion de Montfort.—In this article Père Burnichon gives some interesting particulars, which to many English readers will be new, concerning the missionary career of B. Grignion, whose name was enrolled last January among the "Beati." The newly beatified's book on devotion to our Blessed Lady, is perhaps the one thing connected with his name which most people have heard of. They will here read that he was in his day one of the most original and powerful Mission givers on record. We say "givers," and not preachers merely, because, as is here expressly shown, he used other means besides preaching to make his missions the marvellous success they were.

The chief scene of his labours was his own La Vendée, and the span of his life between 1673 and 1716, but the fame of him and the echo of his words is not yet dead. One gets the impression of a commanding powerful figure, rugged in both appearance, voice and action, but with the ruggedness of native force. Yet he was also an eloquent preacher, and possessed that indefinable something which has marked out a few speakers in the centuries, making them a power in their day and a tradition to after-times. Thus, on one occasion, he had to stop in his discourse, interrupted by the sobs of his audience : "My children," he exclaimed, "do not weep, for your tears prevent me speaking, and if I did not restrain myself I should begin to cry too." But the electric power was not in his words, or not in them only; for, another time an immense crowd had assembled to listen to him. He entered the pulpit, all eyes "devouring him," and eager for his voice; but he spoke never a word! only he took his large crucifix, and showed it to the mass of people with such a fire of love in his countenance, that soon they were crying for mercy! These may have been simple Vendéans; but not seldom the unfriendly, the critical, the thoughtless—desirous merely of a laugh—also came. A few sentences from him, and then they, too, were drawn within his influence, and wept and struck their breasts, just *comme les petites gens*. But there was much more in his influence—a fruitful, not only an emotional one—than even wonderful powers of the natural man. His heroic virtues are worth reading about, and his favourite preparation for the pulpit was a good discipline—for which he once gave this quaint excuse : "Quand le coq s'est bien battu les flancs, il chante plus clair!" Once he walked into the midst of a village fête—lads and maidens all busy dancing and what not, who ought, however, to have been at the

mission. In the middle of the whirl of merriment De Montfort takes out his rosary and begins it, saying nothing else ; and in a few moments dancing is over, and all are saying rosary too, and following him ! He was a special apostle of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, to the Blessed Virgin, and to the Sacred Heart.

The Power of Mission Hymns.—It is of Grignion de Montfort as a composer of "Cantiques Populaires," and of his effectual use of them in his missions, that this article chiefly treats. Not only did these "Cantiques" stir the hearts of the masses when sung under M. Montfort's direction, but they are beloved and effective even now among the people. The learned writer gives many specimens of these verses, and analyses the source of power of lyrics which were naif and devout, of a poetical quality and style defective from the ordinary literary standards. Their excellences are, however, real, if unique. They are, most frequently, forcible and of that direct and piercing simplicity which is more to the simple-minded than subtle imagery or choice diction ; but they have their charm both of diction and accent. Their wonderful dogmatic correctness and teaching power is a point worth reading about, when mere doggerel characterizes so many hymns which street-singing now makes so familiar in our English towns. The writer has some interesting remarks on the power of even the most unpretending words when sung, and sung by the people. Grignion de Montfort's Vendéan peasantry appear to have been as susceptible to the moving influence of hymn-singing as the Welsh peasantry of to-day are, among whom that fascination has been and still is largely to be credited with the power over them of their weak and imperfect Christianity.

Having said so much of Père Burnichon's very attractive well-written Article, space compels us to make only briefest mention of the chief remaining papers of this quarter's numbers of the *Etudes*. Père A. Straub writes also in the April issue, to defend the reality of the Divine will and desire for the salvation of infants who die unbaptized. It is "caviare to the general" but will be acceptable reading to the theologian. An article on Victor Hugo, and another on St. Peter Claver and the Negros, are valuable, each on its own topic. The May number opens with an article by Père Desjardins on M. Chotard's work on Pius VII. at Savona, to which we devoted an article, as may be remembered, in our July issue of last year. Father Brucker considers some present-day objections to the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, and Père Delaporte has a paper on the Count A. de Mun as an orator. The June number contains at least two articles to which we should have liked to devote some space, and must hope to do so another time—one is headed "S. Thomas et la Prédestination," and is a review of a recent work with that title by Professor E. C. Lesserteur ; the other is entitled "Une soutenance de docteurat ès lettres en Sorbonne," and gives an account of the reception by the Sorbonne—angry and vehement—of this particular doctor's paper on Education in the old Oratory of France, defending the Church against the Jansenists.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Avril 1888. Paris.

It will be enough to here indicate the chief articles in the April number of this historical quarterly. The number opens with a very elaborate bibliographical article by the Abbé E. Vacandard on the early Lives of St. Bernard, apropos and chiefly founded on the first instalment of Dr. Georg Hüffer's proposed great work on St. Bernard (*Der heilige Bernard von Clairvaux. Erster Band. Münster*), which treats with German thoroughness the subject of "sources." Then follow "Charles VII., et la Pacification de l'Eglise" (1444–1449), by M. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt; "Le Traité de Paris entre la France et l'Angleterre" (1763), by the Count E. de Barthélémy; and lastly, "Frotté au 18 Fructidor," by M. L. de la Sicotièrre; all three articles of that minute style of accumulating materials for history rather than writing it, which is familiar to this *Revue*.

Among the minor papers in this number is a warm appreciation, by the Abbé C. Douais, of M. Vigouroux's new work, now in course of publication (Paris, Roger & Chernoviz), entitled "Les Livres Saints et la Critique Rationaliste;" and still another good short article is one by the Count A. de Bourmont, "L'Enseignement de l'Histoire aux États-Unis."

Notices of Books.

Life of Blessed John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and Martyr under Henry VIII. By the Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.SS.R. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.

A NY work by Father Bridgett is sure to be widely read and appreciated, and just at present, when the recent beatification of the English martyrs has revived our interest in their heroic deaths, and stimulated inquiry into their personal history, a life of Blessed John Fisher is doubly welcome. The noble example set by the martyred Cardinal, his sterling worth, his uprightness, zeal, and fidelity to duty, would, apart from his elevated rank, have made him a marked man; and there are few, if any, so well fitted by previous work as Father Bridgett to have undertaken the task of writing his biography. Needless to say, the work is done well. From printed books more or less accessible, such as the Lives by Baily and Lewis; from the "Calendars of State Papers," "The Letters and Papers," and other contemporary documents published in recent years by the Government, and from the manuscript account of Bishop Fisher by Hall, on which Baily drew so largely, Father Bridgett has collected nearly every

thing that can be found relating to the subject of his labours. Lewis is criticized and condemned for his perverseness ; Baily corrected and amplified from the original work of Hall, which he made such poor use of; the other authorities are quoted amply and in sufficient fulness to give us their view of what they were writing about rather than the impressions which unsympathetic writers of an alien faith would draw from their long-buried correspondence. And in style, too, Father Bridgett is at his best—forcible and quiet by turns, patient in explanation, outspoken against abuses, discursive as an historian needs must be in dealing with men and times so different from his own. Looking into the book a little more carefully, let us see how Father Bridgett came first to know the martyred bishop whose life he has just published:—

When, just forty years since, I first entered the refectory, or hall, of St. John's College, Cambridge, my attention was at once arrested by the portraits of the foundress, Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII., and of her confessor, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; and the quaint rebus of a fish and an ear [of corn] in the coat-of-arms of the latter, in the chapel window, somewhat distracted my mind amid psalms and prayers. I wished at once to know something of those worthies; and as the senior tutor of my college, Dr. Hymers, had reprinted Fisher's funeral sermon of Lady Margaret, with notes, I was soon able, not so much to satisfy as to excite still more my curiosity. It was certainly not the intention of the editor, a clergyman of the Protestant Church of England, that the perusal of his reprint should lead any student of St. John's College a step back to the Catholicity of Bishop Fisher. Yet such was the case. I soon purchased a copy of the first edition of Fisher's first treatise against Luther, printed in 1523, and, without entering very deeply into controversy, I received a deep impression of the violence and malice of the Reformers, and a gentle drawing towards the defenders of the old faith, which all subsequent studies increased. Though I read no more of Fisher's writings at that time, his spotless character and heroic death gave weight to other arguments, which made me refuse the oath of royal supremacy then required for a degree, and thus obliged me to leave Cambridge in 1850, and seek reconciliation with the Catholic Church.

Father Bridgett goes on to tell us how he followed up the interest in Bishop Fisher's career thus early evoked, till the present work took final shape. He tells us, too, the history of the portrait of Fisher, which Holbein took eight years before his martyrdom, a facsimile of which adorns the volume before us.

A career such as that which Father Bridgett traces so carefully must inevitably be treated in a partisan spirit; compromise is out of the question. The early days of the Lutheran reformation, when Germany was in revolt and England's devout young king winning the title of Defender of the Faith from a Pope whose authori he was ere long to throw off, cannot be viewed, by Catholic writers at least, without some expression of opinion which may not always be acceptable to those who have inherited the opinion of the miscalled reformers. And Father Bridgett introduces very freely, and in the most natural manner in the world, remarks which cannot but go

home to many of his readers. His Protestant critics have already once or twice cried out; to have the plain truth quietly and in the best taste brought under their notice, with telling little inferences and a fund of dry humour, is clearly not to their liking. What he says about the misappropriation of the foundations of Lady Margaret and Bishop Fisher is an example of what we mean (p. 45). Another feature of this biography is the use which the author has made of the writings of the saintly bishop. The lessons of his life, his aims and aspirations, his inner spiritual course, and his external activity have thus a new light shed upon them; and what the bishop thus unintentionally tells us of himself is supplemented by the scattered notices of him which occur in the books and letters of his contemporaries. Chapuys, the Spanish Ambassador; Falieri and Capello, the Venetian Envoys, are drawn upon for many a valuable hint, many a characteristic trait; while, of course, the sceptical and scholarly Erasmus is once more brought in to give his valuable evidence to the piety, worth, and attainments of his friend.

The Bishop of Rochester was so conspicuous among the frightened English prelates of his day by his loyalty to the Holy See, that the history of his unflinchingness only brings into greater prominence the general decadence of the ecclesiastical spirit. Of one or two important details of the bishop's life, and the occasion and dates of terms of imprisonment, mentioned in the correspondence of foreign residents in England, Father Bridgett duly avails himself. Another important novelty is the account of the learned and saintly Bishop's advice to the representative of the Emperor, that forcible means should be taken by his master to supplement the spiritual penalties, so little heeded by Henry, with which the Pope endeavoured to coerce the King. Father Bridgett's disquisition on this episode is one of the best things in the book; though, of course, the parallel he draws between Fisher's conduct on this occasion and that of the Protestant bishops and nobles, who, in 1688, invited over William of Orange, is safeguarded by one or two distinctions which clear our martyr's reputation of any suspicion of guilt like that which hangs over those who ousted James II. from his kingdom. The story of the divorce, as far as Fisher was connected with it; of the Holy Maid of Kent, of the trial, and of the final tragedy on Tower Hill is well told, though Father Bridgett has not, we think, been quite so guarded in his expression of opinion about Elizabeth Barton as was the Bishop of Rochester, who had better opportunities of knowing the merits of her case. Speaking of the final resting-place of the martyred Cardinal, Father Bridgett follows the ordinary tradition, and seems to have overlooked the account of his burial near Sir Thomas More, given by a sub-contemporary writer, whose manuscript in the British Museum is quoted by a critic in the *Tablet*.

We have to thank Father Bridgett for the best life of Fisher which has yet appeared, and for a most valuable contribution to the history of a momentous epoch.

1. *Lady Georgiana Fullerton, sa Vie et ses Œuvres.* Par Madame AUGUSTUS CRAVEN (*née LA FERRONAYS*). Paris: Perrin et Cie. 1888.
2. *The Life of Lady Georgiana Fullerton*, from the French of Mrs. CRAVEN. By H. J. COLERIDGE, S.J. London: Bentley & Son. 1888.

THE well-known author of the "Récit d'une Soeur" has given us what we fear may be her last work, in the volume just named. But we think that few of her readers will find fault with it as manifesting any decay of the charm and power which combine to make her one of the most popular writers of her time. Madame Craven has a congenial theme in Lady Georgiana Fullerton, to whom she was both an intimate friend and a kindred spirit. The volume, of which we notice also the English reproduction, has been written with full access to Lady Georgiana's letters, and even her private journals. The life in itself is one which cannot fail to fascinate the reader. It is often the case that biographies are disappointing, for they tend rather to manifest weaknesses which were before unsuspected than to display unknown excellences. Many a popular idol has had to descend from its pedestal of late years. The lives of George Eliot, Miss Martineau, Carlyle, and Darwin are instances which will occur to every one. Lady Georgiana's life is like one of her books, leaving a pleasant impression all through, and making us rise from the perusal with the feeling that we have been lifted to a higher and purer atmosphere than that which we usually breathe. There is plenty of sorrow in her life, but no gloom; and this seems to us to have been singularly well brought out under Madame Craven's hand. We notice it now in a few lines, hoping to return to it at greater length later on.

We can now only mention the publication of the English "Life of Lady Georgiana Fullerton," by Father Coleridge. It is a translation from Mrs. Craven's Life, and yet not a translation. It contains less, and it contains more, than Mrs. Craven's. It has been a happy thought to bring out the English edition together with the French. Both are highly characteristic of their respective writers, and there are no two persons to whom we should look more naturally for Lady Georgiana's Memoirs than to Mrs. Craven and Father Coleridge. These Memoirs are marked by considerable variety. Lady Georgiana's literary works come under notice in a very interesting way. There are many letters from public men and on public events, which cannot fail to attract attention, while the spiritual life—though its history is evidently curtailed—is most interesting and instructive. One cannot help feeling just a little annoyed at the omissions. One's interest and appetite are too much awakened by what is revealed of her inner life not to make one crave for the fuller and minuter knowledge which possibly may be given to the public on some future occasion.

The Life and Glories of St. Joseph. Grounded on the Dissertations of Canon Antonio Vitali, Father José Moreno, and other Writers. By EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON, M.A. London and New York: Burns & Oates. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.

M R. HEALY THOMPSON'S new work arrives too late for that space and consideration to be given to it which it so well merits. For such lengthened notice we must wait another opportunity; at present we are glad to welcome the book; and we need do little more. Mr. Thompson's name will be sufficient introduction to the numerous readers who have learned to appreciate his spiritual writings. The book treats exhaustively of its subject, beginning with the place of St. Joseph in the economy of the Incarnation, devoting chapters to each detail of his life, and ending with a chapter each on the cultus of the Saint in the Early Church and in later times. Throughout it is a remarkable book, which cannot fail to interest thoughtful minds. While, of course, perfectly orthodox, like all that the author writes, it includes statements which to many readers will be new. Among such are those which show how little necessary it is to attenuate the relations between St. Joseph and his sacred spouse, as though it had been a nominal or shadowy one, by way of emphasizing the fact that the bond between them was wholly spiritual. It lucidly demonstrates that the Holy Family was the great type of the Family Life as re-created in that new humanity which is grounded on the Incarnation; that the love which bound together the three persons who composed that Holy Family was far the strongest as well as the highest example of human love; and that this truth is especially indicated by the character of St. Joseph, and by the consequences which a thoughtful mind must deduce from the position which he occupied in that Holy Family, his relation to which, like Mary's relation to her Divine Son, was an *essential*, not an *accidental* part of the scheme of the Incarnation. The Holy Family illustrates the spiritualized affection of Humanity as it exists archetypally, and to which it practically approximates in proportion as the Christian Ideal of the Family is realized. With St. Joseph are thus connected high Christian mysteries at once of a dogmatical and of an eminently practical character—mysteries to which the Church may have desired to draw attention when she instituted the Feast of the "Esposals." A remarkable passage illustrating this doctrine will be found at p. 130, and beginning thus: "Of all marriages, not only was that of Joseph and Mary the most holy and the most perfect, but the union of heart was more intimate than it ever was in any other marriage. . . . Of Adam and Eve in Paradise God said that they should be 'two in one flesh'; but of Joseph and Mary it might be said that they were two in one spirit. 'They were one spirit,' says St. Ambrose."

Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics. By JOSEPH GILLOW.
Vol. III. London : Burns & Oates.

IT is with pleasure that we welcome another volume of Mr. J. Gillow's biographical work, as it is destined to maintain its place upon the shelves of our libraries for many years. A Dictionary of Biography is a book of reference, and can only be reviewed as such. To expect to find in its perusal all the attractions of a formal historical narrative is unreasonable. What we do require is such comprehensiveness as will afford information concerning individuals in any way noted amongst English Catholics, and when we have met with what we sought we look for historical research and accuracy. It is by no means undeserved praise to say that in Mr. Gillow's volumes we find all that we have a right to expect. Certain prominent notices give us much more than this, and carry with them the interest that ever belongs to well-written history.

Two or three past events are just now prominent before the English public. The Gunpowder Plot has won back a little of its now almost forgotten popularity by the candidateship of Father Garnet for the honours of beatification. The notice given to John Grant, of Norbrook, has a valuable note appended to it, in which references are given to the various sources of information relating to that criminal conspiracy.

Two centenaries are this year being celebrated in England—namely, the destruction of the Spanish Armada and the Revolution of 1688. Both these events ought to hold a prominent place in the present volume. We must, however, own disappointment as to the first, since the name of Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, has appended to it merely a reference to another volume. The Revolution meets with better fortune. James II. has a full and interesting article devoted to his almost romantic career. The Duke of York's prowess in battle cannot be questioned. Had he as Sovereign manifested the same noble qualities as he evinced when Lord Admiral of the English fleet, his reign would have been very different from what it was. In these days of great naval preparations it would be well for this nation if it could again meet with a thoroughly efficient organizer, as the Duke of York proved himself to be. Full justice has never been done to his success in retrieving the naval supremacy of England in the seventeenth century. Mr. Gillow has described graphically the Duke's dauntless courage in his encounters with the Dutch fleet. His words ought to re-echo in every English heart at a time like the present, when fears of invasion have taken hold of valiant hearts, and when the useless squandering of public money over inefficient ships has left our merchant shipping at the mercy of the first great Power that assails us. Englishmen will never forget the Revolution of 1688. But if they truly love their country they must also recall to mind the services rendered to their greatness by James, Duke of York, and emulate his unsparing activity and singleness of purpose in the service of their country.

English Catholics and Nonconformists have ever entertained a

true sympathy for the unfortunate James II. His most ardent wish was to relieve them from the bitterness of religious persecution, and to insure to them freedom of conscience. If he failed, it was not from lack of devotedness, but from too stubborn a zeal and too unwary trust in faithless men.

1. *Publications of the Catholic Truth Society.* Vol. VI.
2. *Lourdes and its Miracles.* By RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J. 6d.
3. *Story of St. Mary Magdalene and of other Women of the New Testament.*
4. *St. Philip Neri, "Apostle of Rome."* By G. AMBROSE LEE.
5. 189: or, *The Church of Old England Protests.* By The Rev. J. D. BREEN, O.S.B.
6. *A Few Reasons for Submitting to the Church of our Fathers.* By H. MORDEN BENNETT, M.A. Oxon.
7. *Father Cuthbert's Curiosity Case.* By the Rev. LANGTON G. VERE. London: Catholic Truth Society, 18 West Square, S.E. 1888.

THE new volume (the sixth) of the collected publications of the Catholic Truth Society is quite up to its predecessors in interest of the subjects and in literary quality. It contains ten single tracts, which have been all published at a penny each (except one), and are still so to be had. We explained in our last number that the Truth Society is thus issuing at intervals its various issues gathered into bound volumes for ready reference in parochial library, &c. A pastor or teacher can at once discover the tract they need, perhaps for distribution in numbers. But the volumes are a valuable addition, also, to any Catholic library. We need not add to what we have before said of the really unusually high excellence of the matter in the controversial and biographical works. This volume contains a sketch of our Holy Father Leo XIII. by Father Rickaby; penny lives of St. Thomas of Canterbury (by Father Goldie, S.J.) and of St. Francis of Sales (by Father Mackay, S.J.); three numbers of tales and poems; controverso-historical papers—"Was Barlow a Bishop?" a capital series of letters by the late Serjeant Bellasis; "The Faith of the ancient English Church concerning the Holy Eucharist," a good tract by Provost Northcote; and lastly, the first of Cardinal Newman's "Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England," which the Society is reprinting at two-pence each—a marvellous two-pennyworth. The second lecture has just arrived, since the completion of the volume.

As to the remaining works of the Society heading this notice, we have no space to enter into particulars; and must be content with saying that we have read Father Clarke's brochure on Lourdes (describing the place, pilgrimages, and entering into the question of the miracles) with very great pleasure. It is excellent, both as to matter and style of treatment, and should do a great work

in making Lourdes favourably known to many an English reader who may be ignorant or prejudiced concerning this place of wonders.

We must also merely mention three newest penny volumes : "St. Mary Magdalene" (in the words of the New Testament—and needing a few more notes); "S. Philip," by Mr. Lee (well-written); and "189," by Father Breen, well known for his former pamphlets on the Orders and Jurisdiction of Anglican Clergy. This is a very able and complete reply to the oft-repeated boast that the old clergy of the English Church reformed themselves, conforming to the new orders, only 189 of them protesting and being deprived in the visitation of 1559. Mr. Morden Bennett's "Few Reasons," occupying only eight pages, is tersely and cogently put—excellent for distribution. Lovers of tales have a further instalment in "Father Cuthbert's Curiosity Case;" well worth reading, all of them. Eighty pages of healthy light literature here for three-pence !

Aristotle and the Christian Church. An Essay. By Brother AZARIAS, of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

THE writer has endeavoured in this essay of 140 pages, first to place before the English reader (for the first time, as he believes) the true record of the attitude of the Church towards the Aristotelian philosophy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and, secondly, to prove that the philosophy of the Schoolmen is very different from that of Aristotle. As to the first, it cannot be said that the promise of novel treatment is altogether fulfilled. All the facts are found in the ordinary and perfectly accessible sources; for example, in Goschler and in Professor Seth's article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Brother Azarias prints in full, in an Appendix, the Brief of Gregory IX., which orders an examination of the "Physica," but the terms of this document have always been well understood. The author is more successful in setting forth the difference between Aristotelianism and St. Thomas; this part of the essay may prove useful. Full justice, however, is not always done to the philosopher. It is not right to call his "Intellectus agens," a "creative" intellect, and to insinuate that it was the same thing as the universal separated intelligence of the Arabian commentators. The style of the Essay is too hasty and jerky; the present and past tenses are exasperatingly mixed together. Some Americanisms—at least we suppose they are Americanisms—spoil the narrative: such as the statement that St. John "premised" his Gospel with a certain statement, the word "gotten," the phrases "happen upon," "back of all," &c.

Essays on Various Subjects. By His Eminence CARDINAL WISEMAN.
With a Biographical Introduction by the Rev. JEREMIAH
MURPHY. London: Thomas Baker. 1888.

THIS volume is a republication of some of Cardinal Wiseman's Essays, and we are cordially glad to welcome it. Nine out of the eleven selected Essays originally appeared in the pages of the DUBLIN REVIEW, and were subsequently published, in a collected form, in volumes that have long been out of print. Mr. Baker has perhaps wisely elected to omit many of the Essays which were of a more ephemeral nature than those he has now reprinted. The Essays themselves are too well known to need any remarks upon their interest and value. The Biographical Introduction by Father Murphy gives us an excellent account of the late Cardinal's life. This volume, which is well and clearly printed, and otherwise admirably brought out, reflects great credit on the publisher, and deserves every support.

The New Procedure in Criminal and Disciplinary Causes of Ecclesiastics in the United States. By the Rev. S. B. SMITH, D.D. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1888.

The Elements of Canon Law. By OSWALD J. REICHEL, B.C.L., M.A. London: Thomas Bosworth & Co. 1887.

WE have put these two books together because they are both interesting contributions to Canon Law, though from very different points of view. From the eminent American Catholic divine, Dr. S. B. Smith, we have the second edition of his Commentary on the Instruction "Cum magnopere," by which the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda (through the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore) has definitively settled the mode of procedure in the trial of clerics accused of criminality. The ecclesiastics of the United States, as become citizens of a free country, have for many years been anxious to be so far protected from the arbitrary exercise of episcopal authority as judicial forms can effect; and this Instruction substantially assimilates criminal procedure in America to the general Canon Law of the Universal Church. The criminous clerk is to have every chance—a preliminary investigation, a regular accusation by an official of the Bishop's court, a patient hearing, an opportunity to meet and rebut evidence, and leave to appeal. Dr. Smith's annotations are very full and explicit. He interprets the Instruction by the light of the ordinary principles of Canon Law, as laid down by himself in his two well-known volumes. His task is not without its difficulties. Like all human systems of law, the terms and procedure of church law are liable to change or to grow obsolete in this or that country or century. To introduce a regular canonical "process" into the United States, where there are no canonical traditions, is like starting a cricket club with only the M.C.C. rules and the light

of nature. One or two concessions to modern ideas may be observed in the Instruction. The "citation" need not now be served by "apparitors," or by personal service at all, but may be sent by a "registered letter"—*per publicos tabellariorum commendatae*. The old rule in canonical processes, that everything should be in writing, is now done away with—as it was in the English Ecclesiastical Courts some fifty years ago—and witnesses may be examined *vivid voce*. Dr. Smith does not seem clear whether the accused or his advocate is allowed to cross-examine; but there seems no doubt the American Episcopal Courts will allow it now. The whole Instruction shows a most laudable wish that the substantial ends of justice and truth should be clearly gained; and we are not sure that such an antiquated rule as the exclusion (with some exceptions) of women as witnesses against the accused would now be upheld, especially as there is nothing about this in the Instruction. Dr. Smith's learned and painstaking Commentary is presented to the public with the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of New York. In England, before a priest can be expelled, there is a process to be gone through less formal and complicated than this Instruction, but we venture to say not less effectual. It was drawn up by Cardinal Wiseman in 1853.

Dr. Reichel's "Elements of Canon Law" is an ably written, clear, and fair handbook, by an Anglican clergyman of High Church leanings. Making allowance for his views as to the Holy See—which are, however, wonderfully un-Protestant—all students may learn much from this book. It deals with definitions, legislative authority, history, canonical texts, and discipline.

Etude Morale sur l'Hypnotisme. Par M. L'ABBÉ TROTIN, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie de Lille. (Extrait de la *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques*). Lille : Bergès. 1888.

A PAMPHLET on Hypnotism, from the point of view of moral theology, has been sent for notice. The author is the Abbé Trotin, a professor in the Theological Faculty of Lille. He has evidently studied the recent literature of the subject very thoroughly, and the conclusions to which he has come are expressed with great care and moderation. He considers it completely proved that hypnotism in itself is a natural process, and that its use is therefore lawful when it appears to be the only mode of treatment likely to be of service in serious disease, such as grave hysteria. Every suitable precaution should be taken. The operator should invariably be a physician, a third party should always be present, and the subject should be warned before awakening that no one else will be able to hypnotize him. In all other circumstances, he holds that the practice is wrong in itself, and liable to be complicated by transgression against other commandments, either in the way of superstition, immorality, or the various sins against justice which may arise. M. Trotin fully agrees with many medical authorities, that its public exhibition at least should be forbidden by law. He points out that the opinions he has

thus expressed are in accordance with the well-known Encyclical of the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition, which strikingly anticipates the possibility of a scientific use of processes which then, even more than now, were mixed up with pretensions to a power beyond that of nature.

*Manuale Sacerdotum diversis eorum usibus, tum in privata devotione
tum in functionibus liturgicis et sacramentorum administratione,
accomodavit P. JOSEPHUS SCHNEIDER, S.J. Editio undecima
cura et studio A. LEHMKUHL, S.J. Coloniae : J. P. Bachem.
1887.*

THERE is no need that we should dwell on the excellences of this now popular manual. It is in its eleventh edition; and in the few years since its first appearance, not much fewer than 40,000 copies have been sold. This immense sale is not, however, greater than one might have ventured to predict for so complete and useful a priest's *vade-mecum*. Father Schneider's *Manuale* is just the faithful friend which supplies the priest entering on active life with the *practical* information which it is generally so difficult for him to lay his hands on, because manuals of theology do not treat of the matters. A method of meditation and "matter" for numerous "points," on subjects special to priests; several different forms of preparation and thanksgiving; morning and night prayers, and a full collection of indulged prayers make up the first, or *paras ascetica*. The second part "Liturgica et Pastoralis," contains an abundance of the kind of matter we have just referred to—practical, yet otherwise not easy of access, on the ceremonies, &c., of the Mass, on the manner, &c., of administering the sacraments and other rites, together with a number of useful *formule*. The two parts are paged and indexed separately, and may be bound together or apart, which is an advantage. This new edition is the first, since the author's lamented death, and is brought out by Father Lehmkuhl. His name is the best possible guarantee that the theological and liturgical portions of the book are trustworthy, and we may add that the latest decisions of the Congregations have been embodied. The author has some valuable remarks on the authority of different decrees. Lastly, an appendix of prayers for the sick and dying is published in several languages; purchasers should ask for them in English.

*Ownership and Natural Right: An Examination of the Land Theories
of Messrs. Herbert Spencer and Henry George. By the Rev.
R. J. HOLAIND, S.J. Baltimore. 1887.*

THIS little book, written in a lively and attractive style, will be of great use to any weak-kneed brethren who are in danger of being led astray by Mr. George's rhetoric. The contradictions, injustice and mischief involved in the proposed nationalization of land are well

explained, and the absurdity of the hope that such a revolution would extirpate pauperism, elevate morals, and purify government. But for English readers the most useful part is the chapter in which he attacks the theory of absolutism in property, summed up among ourselves in the maxim : "A man may do what he likes with his own." Be it observed that, just as in politics, those who promote arbitrary and absolute rule are unconsciously playing into the hands of revolutionists, so in economics, those who favour arbitrary use of property and absolute dominion (like the Liberty and Property Defence League) are playing into the hands of socialists. It would be well for them to listen to the following excellent passage from Father Holaind :—

When we say that the right of ownership is *absolute*, . . . if we mean that it can hold in abeyance the Dominion of God, the Eminent Domain of the State, or the claim of extreme necessity pressed by a fellow-man, then we put on the right of ownership a strain that human liberty itself could not bear, for even human liberty must yield to a superior moral power. . . . The supreme dominion of God limits the ownership of man. None can acquire property in defiance of Divine Law, of moral principles, or of a just law enacted by the civil power.

In the use of his property, man must bear in mind that the right is derived from the right of God. Hence he cannot avail himself of it to defeat the purposes for which it has been granted, nor shirk the special duties entailed by the very nature of the property held. . . .

With regard to the State every citizen must respect Eminent Domain—that is, the right inherent in the supreme power of civil society to use the property of its members when it is indispensable for the *Being or Well-being* of the Commonwealth; with the understanding, however, that a suitable compensation be given, whenever public burdens would otherwise fall unequally on the various units of the body politic.

Hence no citizen can lawfully obstruct the avenues to public prosperity, or avoid bearing his share of public burdens, all the claims of private ownership notwithstanding.

With regard to his brother men, the owner is bound to remember that the claims of charity must be met, and that, in the case of extreme necessity, no right whatever can free him from the duty of relieving the wants of his neighbour (p. 105-107).

Thus Father Holaind by no means allows us to look on ownership as a delicious plateful of rights ; it is a compound, not nearly so nice, but much more wholesome, of rights and duties.

Amid various other good points in this little volume, one weak point has struck me—namely, in the seventh chapter, on Increment. The author seems hardly aware that it is one thing to justify the ownership of so much land as a man and his family can cultivate by their own exertions, and another thing to justify owning so much that other workers, who are not co-owners but mere labourers, have to be called in to help in the cultivation, if the land is not to lie untilled. The second kind of ownership can be justified undoubtedly, but not on the same grounds as the first ; and to my mind it is quite insufficient to appeal to the maxim that "accidents follow the substance," when the title to the substance is in dispute ; or to be

satisfied "if the owner has given a compensation to the labourers for their exertions," when the question is why these labourers, by whose exertions the land has been brought into cultivation, should not themselves be the owners of the land. Remember that Mr. George is not the only revolutionary preacher; others would imitate the Greek democracies, and seize the lands of the rich and cut them up into small farms to be owned by the poor. It was a recognized stroke of politics, generally combined (to make people comfortable all round) with the cancelling of debts, and there was a regular phrase for the transaction. The only satisfactory answer to such claims and the only satisfactory justification of large estates or any kind of large income, is to point out the benefits of inequality, the need of a leisured and cultivated class, and the dispositions of Divine Providence that has placed some in high positions and others low down. It would have increased the value of Father Holaind's book had he recognized the difficulty and given the answer explicitly and at length. But it is rather ungracious to complain, when he has given us so much, that he has not given us more. Moreover, that justification of riches is to a great extent implied in the limitations which he puts to the rights of owners, making them rather the holders of an office or trust, than unrestrained lords and masters. And I will conclude with two of his sayings, commanding the one to the notice of our Joint Stock Companies, namely : "Away with the monstrous principle that Corporations need not have a soul!" and suggesting that the other be put on all title-deeds: "The owner cannot at the same time claim State protection and reject State control."

C. S. DEVAS.

Ireland and the Celtic Church. A History of Ireland from St. Patrick to the English Conquest in 1172. By GEORGE J. STOKES, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

THE above work is a series of lectures delivered in Trinity College by the Rev. George J. Stokes in his capacity of Professor of Ecclesiastical History. As the author disclaims any acquaintance with the Celtic language, he labours under the disadvantage of being an outsider in the great movement of Celtic research, the issues of which, in these days, control so largely the very subject which he has undertaken to treat. He adduces the fact that attendance at his classes was voluntary, and that the need of attracting his audience placed him under the necessity of putting what he had to say into a popular form. The result has been a gain for his readers as well as his hearers, at least in the sense that it has rendered his book by several degrees more readable than much that has hitherto been written on the subject. Whether such causes do as much to make its reading profitable as they do to make it pleasant, is quite another matter, and one on which students above the average of the general reader class will be apt to have an opinion of their own. For readers

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and listeners who have still to be interested and occasionally amused, we conceive that Mr. Stokes must prove a delightful lecturer. He does not intrude upon such a class any of those advanced and more serious problems of Irish Church history, which alone to graver minds have anything of interest or value. His good nature in this respect has given to his work the air of being superficial. Questions which men who have grown grey in the work of historical research still approach with anxious countenance and knitted brows are disposed of by Mr. Stokes with an ease and airiness which imply that his responsibilities as Professor of Church History in Trinity sit lightly upon him.

Nothing can be more laudable than the anxiety which he has shown to separate what is reliable from what is unreliable in the matter of early Irish Church history. One cannot help feeling that certain Catholic writers might, with profit to themselves and their readers, have displayed a little more zeal and discretion in the same direction. No case is made really stronger by the indiscriminate use of matter, the evidence for which is weak or halting. No picture is made really brighter by the use of colours which are false or fading. To take the work of Joceline, which was certainly of the twelfth century, and the Tripartite, which was possibly of the tenth, and weave them into the same narrative with unquestionable documents of the fifth and sixth centuries is a very doubtful service to history. It is perilously near to the production of the historical novel, with all its certainty of containing an amalgam of fact and fiction, and its delightful uncertainty of knowing which is which. Mr. Stokes, we take it, had no very strong temptation to fall into this fault or to make use of the later materials. Besides being very monastic and miraculous, they abound in testimonies of a kind which can hardly be expected to form pleasant reading, much less pleasant writing, for a Protestant Church historian. In any case, he has been well advised to build his account, as he has done, upon the Confession and Letter of St. Patrick, and the other undisputed portions of the Book of Armagh, with the hymn of St. Fiacc from the "Liber Hymnorum."

At the same time, it is not quite easy to understand Mr. Stokes's position. He sets out by promising to hang upon his forehead, or to have ever before his eyes, the canon of criticism that genuine documents are to be distinguished from those that are not genuine by the fact that the latter abound in the supernatural and miraculous. In other words, the introduction of miracles show that the record is not of early date, but mediæval, or unauthentic. The surprising fact is not that Mr. Stokes should have used this canon, but that, having used it, he should have anything left wherewith to write the early Church History of Ireland or of any other country. Like the famous canon of Mr. Stokes's fellow-countryman, the difficulty lies "in letting it off easily." If we adopt the rule of disqualifying all documents as non-historical which contain the miraculous element, how much of the Church literature of the first six centuries—not to speak of Scripture—would survive its application? Or does Mr. Stokes simply mean that he sets aside only the *superabundance* of the

supernatural? In other words, that he has no objection to a saint working a mild miracle or two, provided that he will hold his hand and use his power in moderation, and not turn the whole natural order upside down seven days in the week from sunrise to sunset, as the middle age hagiographers seem to take a fierce delight in doing.

If such be his meaning, it is a pity that he does not candidly say so. His words read like a negation of miracle altogether, and a desire to exclude the whole element of the miraculous from the realm of historical matter. If such be indeed his mental position, Mr. Stokes will need all the sympathy of his best friends in the difficulties he must encounter in lecturing upon Church History.

But, as a matter of fact, Mr. Stokes uses his famous canon in a very sparing way, and once he has passed his Coercion Act, he lets the miracle-containing records off very easily. The fact is he needs them for his narrative, and, if he condemned them, there would be no story to tell and no materials to tell it from. Thus, he has just assured us that he will protect us from all that is mediæval and miraculous, and has taken the Confession and Letter of St. Patrick in one hand, and the hymn of St. Fiacc in the other, and introduced them as the only historical documents upon which we can rely. But he has had hardly time to utter the promise when we are launched into the very midst of the supernatural, and, what is worse, by St. Patrick himself. The Saint tells us how, when he had fasted and prayed in the midst of snow and ice, during his captivity, he had a vision in which he heard a voice which commanded him for his fasting, and told him that a ship was ready for his deliverance. Professor Stokes asks us to believe that this was due to his "highly strung imagination." Evidently, St. Patrick himself did not think so, since he made a journey of two hundred miles on the strength of it. When he found, at the end of it, the ship waiting for him as the voice had foretold, he was probably more than ever of his own opinion. Besides, St. Patrick's visions did not end there. They are all along the line of his confession. Later on, Professor Stokes has to deal with the vision of demons on Croagh Patrick. More "imagination?" No, this time he gravely tells us it was due to the Saint's "disordered digestion." Medical authorities hardly realize the enormous extent to which "highly strung imaginations" and "disordered digestions" prevailed amongst the Christian saints and writers of the first twelve centuries.

When St. Patrick tells us of his fasting and prayer amid snow and ice, and St. Fiacc describes his rock pillow and wet-sack covering, and when St. Patrick congratulates the land on being filled "with monks and virgins of Christ," Professor Stokes surely owes us a word of explanation how all this asceticism and monasticism is to be reconciled with the spirit and teaching and practice of the modern Reformed Churches.

By-and-by the author comes to the scene on the hill of Slane, where the Saint meets the monarch Laoghaire, and works a series of miracles to convince him of the truth of Christianity. After all, one cannot convert an angry obstinate king and a band of fanatical pagan

priests by mere imagination, or even by indigestion. At last, Professor Stokes frankly admits that his material breaks down, and that here the story "indulges in legend." But is not this very account contained in the "Book of Armagh?" It is hardly "mediaeval," since it was, as the author himself admits, written by Maccumacthenius, who lived in the seventh century. Why does the professor not logically observe his own canon, and remove Maccumacthenius from the list of his materials? On the contrary, he builds one half of his narrative upon it. Then there is the hymn of St. Fiacc, upon which Professor Stokes says we can rely. But the hymn is full of the supernatural and the miraculous. St. Patrick, according to it, was brought back to Erin "by visions of angels." When arrived, "he healed the lame and the lepers," and "the dead he restored to life," and when he died, "there was radiance for a whole year," and "the angels kept choir around his body." Now all this is just the kind of material from which the professor, with his canon, promised to deliver us. But what can he do? St. Fiacc is not mediaeval. He even lived and spoke with St. Patrick.

The author touches, and as lightly as possible, on the great question of the Roman mission of St. Patrick. He thinks that the facts are *apparently*, but not *necessarily*, against it. In any case he sees no difficulty in admitting it, and conceives that it no more implies the subjection of the Irish Church to Rome, than the fact of the first Protestant bishop for America being ordained in this country would imply a subjection of American Episcopalianism to the Anglican Church. The view is at least original—rather too original in fact, for a professor of Church history. As such, he might surely have been expected to know the significance of an apostolic mission in the fifth century. When, moreover, the Church history is that of Ireland, he cannot but know that the unanimous tradition of the Irish Church, voiced by a whole consensus and catena of authorities, declares just the opposite of the view he has adopted. There was no analogy of Anglican jurisdiction any more than there was an analogy of Anglican orders. There is the usual amount of special pleading about the Easter controversy, though Professor Stokes is willing to admit that St. Cummian and at least one half of Ireland was on the side of Rome. That, with the concession that St. Patrick *may* have been sent from Pope Celestine, registers a considerable advance on the position occupied by Protestant writers represented by Dr. Todd some years ago.

The picture presented by this work on the whole is neither very clear nor very complete. Its general effect is sadly marred by a painful effort to run an Anglican wash over the canvas, despite which the strong Catholic colour of the groundwork is perpetually coming through.

In our day there are many who feel that history has nothing to lose, but much to gain, by being kept as far as possible out of the realm of controversy; that the time devoted to refuting and counter-refuting had much better be given to research; that workers in the

field, instead of facing one another, should face the work which lies before them ; that if both sides will only seek simply and sincerely all that is fullest, surest, and best in history, questions of controversy may be trusted to gradually shape their own course and to find their own solution ; and that many of them will resolve themselves after the manner of ghosts in the light of the dawning.

Evidently it is not to that school that Professor Stokes belongs, and his work seems to have no higher aim than to initiate, interest, and bias the general reader in what is already the well-trodden ground of Irish Church History.

J. M.

The Ave Maria. A Catholic Magazine devoted to the Honour of the Blessed Virgin. Edited by a Priest of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. Vol. XXIV., Jan.-June, 1887. Notre Dame, Indiana : Office of the *Ave Maria*.

Tales for Eventide. A Collection of Stories for Young People. Same Publishers.

THIS American weekly magazine is an excellent family serial, and contains pieces to suit different ages and tastes. There are not only choice gatherings from many sources on the doctrine and practice of Catholic devotion to the Mother of God, as the title leads one to expect, but also tales, short stories, and "bits," poems, and reviews, on all sorts of topics interesting to Catholics. There is much useful information on passing events, chiefly Catholic. Towards the end of this half-yearly volume (p. 533) we note, for example, a remarkable article on a recent pronouncement in a public journal, of an American judge—Judge Bennett—on the terrible social consequences of divorce. In some of the States, it appears, divorces mount to 20 per cent. of the marriages, so that one in every five marriages comes to that ending ; or rather, because Catholics, as the judge points out, never seek the divorce court, the percentage among non-Catholics is really higher. The judge, not a Catholic himself, then dwells on the causes of so much divorce, and finally suggests remedies, and these last are actually a going back—as the *Ave Maria* shows—to the often ridiculed disciplinary matrimonial regulations of the Catholic Church, which are still in force within her pale, such as publication of the banns, &c.

"Tales for Eventide" is a little volume, containing twenty-five short stories selected from the pages of the *Ave Maria*. The volume would make an excellent gift or prize-book for younger children.

The Bookworm. With which is incorporated *Book Lore*.
London : Elliot Stock.

A LITTLE tardily, but with much pleasure, we call our readers' attention to a new periodical, which is likely to be of considerable use. In these days, when the rapid accumulation of information *de omni re scibili* renders the existence of journals devoted

to one or other special department of literature or learning not only desirable but even necessary, there is plenty of scope for a publication like the *Bookworm*. Its quaint title, pleasant get up, homely illustrations, and varied contents, ought to recommend it to the legion of book lovers, combining, with notices of new books, something of the *Retrospective Review* with a *souvenir* of *Notes and Queries*. Mr. Elliot Stock's new venture seems calculated to play a useful part, and if the promise of the earlier numbers is fulfilled, its value will increase as the years go on.

Curious Creatures: their Ways and Habits. With Illustrations. By MARIANNE BELL. London: St. Anselm's Society. 1888.

THIS is a collection of interesting papers on subjects of Natural History, which Miss Bell originally contributed to the pages of the *Month*. Popular descriptions of the lives and ways of seals and sea-lions, otters, beavers, moles, rats and mice, bats, bears, and birds are sure to prove interesting, especially to the young; and perhaps the St. Anselm's Society has had the young more especially in view in republishing these papers. They have been well advised; and we can recommend this attractive volume to the purveyors of general reading for library or home. The illustrations will add to the value of the volume with the young. It makes a good prize-book.

The Churgress. By "THE PRIG." London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

THE clever author of "The Life of a Prig" makes another welcome appearance. There have, it seems, been readers who, mistaking his delicate satire, have concluded that "The Prig" was "a fervent admirer of the Church Establishment!" But we do not think it possible that any reader of "The Churgress" can suffer from that widely-spread and hide-bound complaint, the *ignoratio elenchi*; for in this volume our author, while not abandoning his former delightful vein of humour, uses satire less thinly veiled and hits out from the shoulder at the "impossible and absurd position" very vigorously indeed.

In "The Churgress" some selections from statements reported in the newspapers to have been actually made at the "Church Congress" are given in italics. They serve admirably as texts for "The Prig's" most amusing comments, in which the inevitable contradictions and incongruities of such an assembly are unsparingly depicted in all their conspicuous silliness. While "The Prig" is somewhat more didactic in "The Churgress" than in his previous volumes, there is no lack of mirth-provoking humour throughout the book. As a specimen of his more serious manner we quote the following from the paper, which "a quiet-looking Papist" is supposed to have been permitted to read to "The Churgress":—

I now come—rather late in the day you will say—to the main point of my paper, namely, the appearance of Anglicanism from a Catholic standpoint. Well, a few words will suffice. We regard the Anglican Church as a gigantic compromise, and I may add that all you have said at this Churgress about intercourse with this Church and that Church, these Nonconformists and those Nonconformists, only confirms us more than ever in this opinion. It is needless that I should tell you that we Catholics are by no means alone in looking upon your Church in this light. If compromise between truth and error were the chief mark of the Church of Christ we should not have to go beyond the Church of England to find it. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that while you "draw closer and closer" to religious bodies, holding doctrines as various as the colours of a kaleidoscope, and heresies as opposite as the Poles, you accuse us of stultifying our reasons because we believe that God will not allow the head of our Church to lead us into error on matters of faith and morals.

We have no doubt that "The Churgress" will greatly extend the number of "The Prig's" readers.

Annuaire de l'Enseignement Primaire. Publié sous la direction de
M. JOST. 1888. Paris: Armand Colin.

A NYBODY interested in official primary education, whether French or otherwise, will find every variety of information in this compact annual, issued by the Inspector-General of Public Instruction, from the name of every schoolmaster and mistress in France and Algeria, to a collection of useful scholastic articles on recent geographical discoveries, astronomy, German systems, &c., &c., together with the French "Code." We are somewhat surprised to find the saints' days still retained in the Calendar, for, with a few religious who still teach schools in Algeria, this appears to be the sole remnant of Christianity about the French system of education.

Early Lincoln Wills. An Abstract of all Wills and Administrations recorded in the Episcopal Registers of the old Diocese of Lincoln, 1280-1547. By ALFRED GIBBONS. Lincoln: James Williamson, 1888. Printed for subscribers.

WE are exceedingly glad to welcome this collection of ancient wills. Hitherto the value of these records has certainly not been sufficiently recognized. The Surtees Society has indeed devoted several volumes to the "Testamenta Eboracensis," which have proved a mine of information, genealogical and archaeological, about the northern counties and families. On the other hand, the Camden, a kindred Society, has apparently never thought it worth while to give its members the volume of "Wills in Lambeth Registers, 1349-68," which it announced in 1844. There can be no doubt that the testamentary dispositions of past generations teach us much more about their manners and customs than would be believed by any one who has not made them a special study. To Catholics, above

others, these old wills are full of interest and instruction. They come like voices from their dead Catholic forefathers, speaking of the faith and practice of centuries ago. Their frequent bequests to the Church, their constant care in providing for Masses and prayers for the dead, and the abundance of charity displayed for their poorer brethren, are lessons of earnestness in belief which we of a later and a colder age might well take to heart.

The volume before us includes the wills proved in the Lincoln Diocese for nearly three centuries, and are extracted from the registers of the bishops. The abstracts of these documents occupy some 218 closely printed pages, which are followed by careful indexes of persons and places, and one page devoted to a third index of subjects. In this latter, Mr. Gibbons points out the chief subjects of archaeological interest to be found mentioned in the wills he has printed. There is hardly a page in this little volume which is devoid of interest. The pedigrees of some families for these three hundred years could be almost constructed from the wills here recorded, and almost every will contains some item of general interest. There are very few, indeed, which do not name some specific bequest, often of considerable amount, to some monastery or church, while most leave sums of money for the Holy Sacrifice, and for prayers for the repose of the soul of the testator and his family. Often the first sentence of the document displays the earnest piety and filial trust in God's mercy of those who died in those days of faith. There are, of course, many little errors and uncorrected mistakes to be found in the volume; but they are so obviously slips that, as we do not wish to appear to be finding fault, we pass them over. Although we are glad to have the original Latin in all cases where there could be the least doubt as to the exact meaning, there are many places where we should have thought no manner of doubt could exist. This care of the compiler, however, in giving us the Latin word is a fault on the right side. Our cordial thanks are due to Mr. Gibbons for this volume, which we have read with delight, and from which we have derived much profit and instruction.

La Bibbia offerta da Ceolfrido Abbate al Sepolcro di S. Pietro, Codice tra i superstiti delle biblioteche della Sede Apostolica. Memoria di GIOVANNI R. DE ROSSI, prefetto del Museo sacro e scrittore della Biblioteca Vaticana. Roma : Tipografia della Propaganda.

THIS Essay of the Commendatore De Rossi was one of the offerings to the Pope on the occasion of his Jubilee. It is devoted to the discussion of a topic which, for several years, has occupied the attention of scholars—what, namely, was the country and century of the famed Codex Amiatinus? The dissertation does not exceed twenty-two pages; still, the writer has succeeded in bringing into this small space such aspects of the question as cannot fail to excite lively interest in Catholic England. In order that the reader may the

better follow his explanations, he has furnished the work with a phototype of the first page of the Codex, the size of the original, i.e., 32 by 47 centimètres. The Codex formerly belonged to the Lombardian Convent of Amiata, but is now preserved in the Lorenzo Library of Florence. As early as 1885 De Rossi examined the title-page, and saw that the words "Petrus Langobardorum extremis de finibus Abbas," by palimpsest, had been formed out of the original text, "Ceolfridus Britonum extr. de fin. Abbas." Now Bede tells that Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Northumberland, in 716, when setting out for Rome, took with him a "Pandectes sacrorum librorum," which he wished to present to the Pope, or rather, to place on the tomb of St. Peter; and that he was prevented from carrying out this noble design, death overtaking him at Langres, in France. His companions carried out the wish of their father, and made over the bible to Gregory II. Recent investigations into the so-called Codex Amiatinus have had the result of showing it to be the oldest existing manuscript of the *entire* Vulgate that has belonged to the library of the Holy See. The Hamilton collection, of late years purchased by the Prussian Government, is, indeed, possessed of a bible codex written in golden letters on purple parchment, which Professor Wattenbach attributes to St. Wilfrid, of York (670–680), but it has never been in the possession of the Holy See. It once belonged to Henry VIII., and was a present to him in acknowledgement of the merits of his book against Luther; not sent to him, however, from Leo X., but from a now unknown person. The result of De Rossi's investigations as to the Codex Amiatinus, differs from Bandini's, who, in the last century, fancied he could read on the title-page, "Servandus Latii extremis de finibus abbas," and connected the manuscript with St. Servandus, a disciple of St. Benedict. English scholars have followed up De Rossi's investigations, and to Professor Hort, of Cambridge, we owe the fortunate hint as to the original dedicatory words of Abbot Ceolfrid, which Dr. Giles had published, from an anonymous life of Ceolfrid, in his "Opera Bedae" (vi. 418). The least doubt as to the identity of the Codex Amiatinus with the bible offered by Ceolfrid, in 716, has, thus, now disappeared. Students of palæography will take a keen interest in chapter v. By the help of Ceolfrid's dedicatory distich, as given in his anonymous life, De Rossi ingeniously reconstructs the original Latin verses from the first page of the Codex Amiatinus. He next examines the text of the Codex, which quite agrees with the Vulgate. From Bede we learn that Ceolfrid, having accompanied Abbot Biscop several times on his Roman journeys, in 678, brought with him from Rome to England, a "Pandectes vetustae translationis"—viz., the old Itala. In England, he ordered to be transcribed three copies "novae translationis," of St. Jerome, and destined them as presents for the convents of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and for St. Peter's, Rome. The original, from which these three manuscripts, the latest of which is precisely our Codex Amiatinus, or Ceolfridi, were to be copied, was a bible codex brought from Rome by Biscop for his "Nobilissima

Bibliotheca," and was St. Jerome's translation, as Bede attests. England may thus be proud of having furnished St. Peter's, Rome, with the fine codex of the complete Vulgate, that has, in our day, excited the liveliest interest among Bible scholars. If we wished for a proof of the intimate intercourse, during the seventh century, between the church of Northumberland and Rome, the centre of unity, a more striking one could scarcely be wished for than that which the dedicatory distichs of Ceolfrid afford. They run thus:—

Corpus ad eximii merito venerabile Petri,
Dedicat Ecclesiae quem caput alta fides,
Ceolfridus Anglorum extremis de finibus abbas
Devoti affectus pignora mitto mei,
Meque meosque optans tanti inter gaudia patris
In caelis memorem semper habere locum.

BELLESHEIM.

Geschichte der katholischen Kirche im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Erster Band.—Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Deutschland. I. Von Dr. HEINRICH BRÜCK, Professor der Theologie am bischöflichen Seminar in Mainz. Mainz: Kircheim. 1887.

PROFESSOR BRÜCK has set himself an immense task. The first volume, now before us, treats of the vicissitudes of the Catholic Church in Germany in the first part of the nineteenth century, from the invasion of the French to the opening of those negotiations between the several Courts of Germany and the Holy See which resulted in the Concordats. The author's special qualifications for this arduous undertaking are beyond question. His "History of the Ecclesiastical Province of the Upper Rhine" (Archbishopric of Freiburg); his "Text-book of Church History," in four editions, translated in English and Italian; his "History of the Irish Veto," sufficiently witness to his capabilities for this new work. In it he intends, to use his own words, "to present a history of the German Church, derived from the best authentic sources, as complete as is possible, unprejudiced, and aiming only at setting forth the facts as they are, since it is only by such a method that the noble influence of the Church may be duly weighed and old prejudices against her can be dispelled."

Before entering on his special period, Dr. Brück lays the foundations by tracing the condition of the Church in Germany in the last part of the eighteenth century. Then she still stood in ancient splendour. Notwithstanding the considerable losses suffered at the time of the Reformation, she enjoyed A.D. 1800 great wealth and political rights. Witness the fact that she could boast of not less than eighteen universities, and the schools connected with so many ecclesiastical communities, or directed by priests or religious. By the "secularization" of 1803 she was, by one sudden stroke, deprived of all these institutions. The religious condition of the Church left much to be desired. Not many Courts of the then reigning Prince-

Bishops were exempt from the errors of Gallicanism, Josephism, or Febronianism. Divine chastisement for this was doubtless richly deserved ; and it came sooner than could have been anticipated.

Dr. Brück's work is divided into five parts :—The time of secularization ; the usurpation of the Church's rights by the State ; the attempts to bring order out of chaos ; higher and intermediate education ; *cultus*, or the condition of the Church with regard to divine service. It may be noted here that a more accurate, solid, and dispassionate narrative of the numerous incidents of the plundering of the German Church in 1803 than that presented in this work could scarcely be looked for. Only in our day could such a history be written, with the help of the now published memoirs of some of the leading men of the period. No doubt the principal agent in the spoliation of the Church was Bonaparte, then First Consul ; but he never would have succeeded in his impious schemes but for some of the German bishops, who, by declining to resort to decisive measures, supported him in suppressing both Germany and her Church. For the picture traced by Dr. Brück of the disastrous effects of the secularization on religion, morals and education, we must send the reader to the book. One of the worst results of the immense spoil was the dependence of the spiritual power on the State. As the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg wrote to Pius VII., July 1, 1803, not so much the secular as the spiritual power of the bishops is to be brought under the yoke of the secular princes. Nor must the sad fact be passed over in silence that the State, in stripping the Church of her wealth, were supported by not a few Catholic priests who had given up their vocation, and in this way gave vent to the fury of their hearts against their mother.

The fourth chapter lays open the intricate negotiations between the Governments of the German States and Pius VII., for re-establishing the Church in each territory. The main discussion was whether there should be an Imperial Concordat, or treaties of the Holy See with each single State. Rome, of course, favoured the former alternative, the secular Powers the latter. The Pope was at last obliged to give way, and thus the several Concordats originated. Count Metternich, the then all powerful Prime Minister of Austria, has left Memoirs, published only a few years since, which throw considerable light on the schemes of the Austrian Government. It aimed at giving the German Church a position little less than independent of the Holy See, the centre of unity. The Pope, therefore, might have congratulated himself on getting rid of the need of negotiating an Imperial Concordat.

A noteworthy feature of Dr. Brück's history is the diligent care with which he traces the development of theology and canon law in those troublous times. Philosophical systems of the day, unfortunately, fascinated many Catholic doctors during that period, and dragged them from the path of tradition. Far from following St. Thomas, they preferred Kant, Fichte, and Hegel, and their unsound systems. The havoc entailed on the Church by this robbery of

sound doctrines far surpassed in gravity her immense losses of secular wealth.

Professor Brück deserves high praise for this first instalment of a valuable work, which we trust he may be able to finish without delay.

BELLESHEIM.

Praelectiones Metaphysicae Specialis, quas in Collegio Maximo Lovaniensi, S.J., habebat Gustavus Lahousse, E.S. Vol. II.: "Psychologia."
Lovani: Car. Peeters. 1888.

THE second of Father Lahousse's treatises on "Philosophy" in no way detracts from the great reputation which its author enjoys. His lectures on psychology will prove a very valuable boon to students. It must be borne in mind that, in writing this course of lectures, the author has looked principally to those who have time and opportunity for the study of Christian Philosophy. Hence he has written in the Latin language, which, however good it may be for the use of students, is unfitted to convey to the majority of mankind any idea of the great connection between the truths of reason and those of faith. Keeping in mind, then, the class of readers who will make use of this work, and for whom alone it is intended, we think a more admirable treatise on Psychology could not be desired. A few general remarks on the chief characteristics of the work will show the truth of this assertion. All the arguments adduced by Father Lahousse are set forth in strict accordance with the syllogistic laws. Conciseness and clearness are the invariable qualities of every proposition. No argument is so convincing or so easily retained as that in which the "major" and "minor" are at once brief and clear, and Father Lahousse has successfully combined these two qualities. Again, it has often been remarked that many of our text-books of philosophy are sadly wanting in references to modern works. But this is a fault not to be found in the present treatise. Copious references are everywhere given, not only to St. Thomas and Suarez, but to writers such as Tongiorgi, Palmieri, Pisch, Sanseverini Liberatore. While the opponents of the scholastic theories have no reason to complain that their views are not represented, and that students are not afforded the means of verifying the opinions ascribed to them, they will invariably find themselves courteously treated at the hands of Father Lahousse. Another feature of this work is the vast array of difficulties which are here collected and solved. Numbering over 350, they are all put in syllogistic form, and in many cases are so arranged as to make a little disputation, which is, at times, carried through four or five "subsumptions." Although we cannot pretend to give a detailed account of this work, there are one or two points which we are unable to pass over in silence. In the article devoted to the Origin of Species, the author gives a good, though, to our mind, brief, account of Evolution as maintained by Darwin and his adherents. Father Lahousse rejects Darwinism mainly on two grounds: first, because it does not satisfactorily account for some incontestable

facts ; and, second, because it assigns certain effects to inadequate causes. He devotes special attention to the fabled descent of the human race from the ape, and argues that, even granting that there is a perfect similarity between the body of a man and that of an ape, which he denies, nevertheless the difference between man possessing an intellect and the ape devoid of reason is so great that it precludes any possibility of their being naturally descended from a common origin. The theory of evolution as proposed by its more moderate supporters does not, we think, receive sufficient attention, nor does Father Lahousse seem to pronounce any definite judgment on its merits. Of course it is quite natural to expect that the author adopts the scholastic theory on the Origin of Ideas. The explanation and development of this theory is, perhaps, the most interesting subject contained in the work. Many points which are overlooked in ordinary text-books are here explained. Father Lahousse considers that the opinion of those who uphold the real distinction between the "intellectus possibilis" and the "intellectus agrus" is more probable than that which only acknowledges a mental distinction. As usual, the author devotes more attention to what he considers the right system, than to explaining or refuting false ones. Nevertheless, in view of the recent condemnation of Rosminian propositions, we think too little attention has been bestowed upon the theory which takes its name from Rosmini. That a system which has called forth from friends and foes volumes innumerable, can be adequately described in fifteen lines, seems preposterous. In conclusion, we must add that only those who have had to lament the want of a good index to most of our standard text-books of philosophy will be able to appreciate the valuable one which Father Lahousse has appended to this volume.

English Men of Letters: Keats. By SIDNEY COLVIN. London : Macmillan & Co. 1887.

KEATS died before he had completed the twenty-sixth year of his age, and the hereditary disease, which ultimately proved fatal, disabled him from active work when he was only twenty-four. That the immortality of fame should have been achieved at so early an age is sufficiently remarkable, but the wonder grows when we find that the poet in his early years gave no indications of unusual precocity, and that the circumstances of his life were wholly unfavourable to the production of those ideal works which are now so famous. His father was the keeper of a livery stable—a position to which he had risen from that of ostler, by marrying his master's daughter—and the poet was born, October 29, 1795, at the stable in Finsbury Pavement. He received at Dr. Clarke's school, at Enfield, a sound, middle-class education, but he learned no Greek. His school-days passed without his giving any indication of the greatness in store for him. He was, indeed, remarkable only for his extraordinary pugnacity, a quality recorded by Holmes, one of his

school friends, in the following passage : "Keats was in childhood not attached to books. His *penchant* was for fighting. He would fight any one—morning, noon, and night, his brother among the rest. It was meat and drink to him." This readiness with his fists was not confined to the years of his boyhood, for in later life we find the author of "*Endymion*" thrashing a butcher in a stand-up fight for ill-treating a cat. At fifteen he was bound apprentice to a surgeon at Edmonton, and subsequently "walked the hospitals" in London. Five years later he passed his examination as Licentiate at Apothecaries Hall, and was appointed a dresser at Guy's. It was not until the winter of 1816–17, when he had only three years of life and health in front of him for active work, that he turned seriously to literary pursuits. Thus the birth, education, and surroundings of Keats were essentially commonplace. "He had grown up," as Mr. Colvin says, "neither like Wordsworth, under the spell of lake and mountain, nor in the glow of millennial dreams like Shelley; but London-born and Middlesex-bred, was gifted, we know not whence, as if by some mysterious birthright, with a delighted insight into all the beauties, and sympathy with all the life of the woods and fields." Keats, more than any other poet, manifests a lively appreciation of natural beauty; his verses are thronged with ever-varying descriptions of flower, forest, and brook; and yet he spent the greater part of his life in the uncongenial atmosphere of London smoke. The later years of Keats were embittered by money troubles by the hostility of the critics, by his hopeless passion for Fanny Brawne, and by the wasting disease from which he died in Rome in February, 1821. The main incidents in the life of Keats were, in the words of Lord Houghton, the publication of three small volumes of verse, some earnest friendships, one profound passion, and a premature death. The record of this short and uneventful life does not require many pages of the book before us, and the biographer has accordingly devoted the greater part of the space at his disposal to the critical examination of the several poems. Mr. Sidney Colvin has on the whole done his work well. He writes with all the advantages derived from perfect knowledge of his subject; and his criticisms are, for the most part, judicious and searching. There is no poet of the first rank so completely at the mercy of destructive and ill-tempered criticism than Keats. His faults of style, his verbal mannerism, the total absence of artistic structure in the longer poems, are defects apparent to everyone; and nothing is easier than to collect examples of these shortcomings and throw ridicule on the poet for his violation of the recognized canons. The true office, however, of the critic is not that of a censor but of an expositor; and no one is better qualified than Mr. Sidney Colvin to help us to the true appreciation of Keats' hidden beauties. How truly he has entered into the spirit in which the poet wrote appears from the following passage : "The element in which his poetry moves is liberty, the consciousness of release from those conventions and restraints not inherent in its true nature by which the art had for the last hundred

years been hampered. And the spirit which animates him is essentially the spirit of delight : delight in the beauty of nature and the vividness of sensation, delight in the charm of fable and romance, in the thoughts of friendship and affection, in anticipations of the future, and in the exercise of the art itself which expresses and communicates all these joys."

The chapter on "Endymion" is particularly good, and "Endymion" itself will be read with increased pleasure after its perusal. While thus bestowing on Mr. Sidney Colvin the praise of having effectively treated his subject in the most essential particulars, we cannot pass over without notice the occasional slovenliness of composition which disfigures his pages. Take for example the following sentence, where the author is speaking of Haydon's writing : "But in this, the literary, form of expression also, as often as he flies higher, and tries to become imaginative and impressive, we find only the same self-satisfied void turgidity, and proof of a commonplace mind, as in his paintings." The punctuation here is itself worthy of study, and "void turgidity" may exercise the mind for an indefinite term. In the same page we read : "While his imperious and importunate egotism wore out others after a *while*." Such expressions as "In the long run," "regrettable," "stock-raptures," "Portraits, verbal and other ;" "Much the chief portion of the book," "In the matter of metre," do not seriously detract from the merit of the work ; but they might have been so easily avoided that the author deserves censure for having made use of them.

Le Développement de la Constitution et de la Société Politique en Angleterre. Par E. BOUTMY, Membre de l'Institut. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.

THE English Constitution has long exercised a peculiar fascination over Frenchmen. Since the days of Montesquieu they have looked upon it as the realization of the perfect form of government. Their historians have made it the subject of careful study ; their politicians have in vain attempted to reproduce it. M. Boutmy is the latest addition to the long list of writers. He has made himself familiar with the most recent researches and theories, and has worked up his materials so as to produce a book which may be heartily recommended to English readers. It is philosophical rather than historical, or, to speak more plainly, it is more a study of causes and consequences than a record of events. His main contention is that the English Constitution is chiefly due to circumstances, and not to the characters of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman races. Thierry laid too great stress on Norman influence ; Bishop Freeman and Gneist attribute too much to the Anglo-Saxons. The true sources of the constitution, according to M. Boutmy, were not so much ethnical as historical. The English nation, he says, "is a political society,

which, having fallen in the eleventh century into a state of disorganization went through at the right moment the ordeal of a great military, economic, and administrative revolution, and received, less from the event itself than from the gradual pressure of its consequences, less from the characters of the component races than from the physical and moral conditions in which the whole body of the nation was placed, that consistence and that form which it has substantially preserved to our own times."

But to the ordinary reader the most interesting part of the book is the account of what the author styles the Aristocratic Revolution of the eighteenth century. We are accustomed to look upon the Revolution of 1688 as the last of our revolutions. M. Boutmy, however, draws our attention to the silent and gradual change which took place in the country districts during the reigns of the early Georges. At the beginning of the last century a large portion of the land was owned by small proprietors called yeomen. For many centuries they had been the brain and backbone of the country. The sentiment of ownership cultivated in them a spirit of independence. Local government was in their hands, and they exercised the parliamentary franchise with freedom and discretion. The extermination of this class is the great blot of the eighteenth century. Huge estates became everywhere the rule, and the ancient proprietors were forced to emigrate, or to sink into the degrading position of tenants-at-will. The Squire now became monarch of all he surveyed. He was a despot among his tenantry, and when he went up to Westminster it was only to frame with others of his class, new laws to strengthen his power. M. Boutmy shows that Goldsmith's pathetic poem is no exaggeration but sober truth. The aristocratic supremacy was, however, soon threatened by the extraordinary development of industry. The Reform Bill of 1832 dealt the first successful blow at the great landowners. The struggle has continued ever since.

T. B. SCANNELL.

Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries. An Attempt to illustrate the History of their Suppression. By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, O.S.B. Vol. I. Third Edition. London : John Hodges. 1888.

WITH great pleasure we note the publication within a few months of a third edition of Father Gasquet's volume. From the first it has received from the non-Catholic press a large amount of attention and a warm welcome. In the case of a book by a monk on the "suppression," this is a sign of the times ; it is also a clear testimony to the author's historical ability and fairness, and to the possession by his book of the qualities which His Eminence the Cardinal claimed for it in his article (on the first edition) in our last number. There is no need, after that article, for us here to say any single word about the book itself : the third edition is a reprint of the first and second ; there has been no time, had there even been

any call, to make alterations. But we may be pardoned for taking the opportunity to dwell on our gratification at the sudden and notable success of the book, and to congratulate the author on it. The sale has been great, far beyond his most sanguine anticipations; and the knowledge that his volume has gone widely among all classes of the Protestant public must give him great pleasure. Their recognition of its merits has also been emphatic and generous; and only lately another unexpected and spontaneous mark of recognition to Father Gasquet from the learned world has been his election on the Council of the Camden Society. That a Benedictine should prove himself a laborious and patient investigator and able historian is in keeping with the traditions of his Order; that Anglican clergymen and scholars generally should come forward to welcome him and eulogize his merits is very honourable to them. Father Gasquet undertook his work at the word of His Holiness, a Pope who has already done so much for history. And now, since the issue of his third edition, a letter from Cardinal Rampolla has conveyed to him the Pope's congratulations and a fresh benediction on his further labours. The Pope speaks lovingly of Father Gasquet's book in this letter, as having been begun at his desire; and expresses his confident expectation that the book will reflect honour on both its writer and the illustrious Order to which he belongs.

Many Catholics think that little can be said for the "monks of old." They may here learn otherwise; and we trust that, while Protestants are quick to read Father Gasquet's volume for the sake of knowing the truth, they themselves will not be behindhand in laudable curiosity. It is in all the libraries.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

(*Notices of many of which have to be held over until October.*)

"Meditations for Every Day in the Year." By Father John Crasset, S. J. Translated and Edited by the Very Rev. T. B. Snow, O.S.B. Two Vols. London: Washbourne.

"Britain's Early Faith." By W. H. Anderdon, S.J. London: Burns & Oates.

"Procès des Frères et de l'Ordre du Temple." Par M. Lavocat. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.

"Mabillon et la Société de l'Abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés, 1664-1707." Par Emmanuel de Broglie. Two Vols. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.

"The Story of the Nations"—"The Goths," by Henry Bradley. "Assyria," by Z. A. Ragozin. "Chaldea," by the same. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

"Histoire des Papes, depuis la fin du Moyen Age." Par le Dr. Louis Pastor. Traduit de l'Allemand par Furcy Raynaud. Two Vols. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.

"Historia Aliquot Martyrum Anglorum, maxime Octodecim Cartusianorum, sub Henrico VIII," &c. A V. Patre Domno M. Chauncy, Londin. *Cartusiae Professo Conscripta*, &c. Londini : Burns & Oates.

"At the Gates of the Sanctuary ; or, the Postulant and the Novice. Translated from the Latin Works of Dom. Rupert Presinger, O.S.B. By the Very Rev. Francis Cuthbert Doyle, O.S.B. Dublin : Gill & Son. New York, &c. : Benziger Bros.

"One of His Little Ones, and Other Tales, &c." By J. S. Fletcher. London : R. Washbourne.

"Dean Church's Miscellaneous Writings." Five Vols. Vol. I., "Miscellaneous Essays." Vol. II., "Dante." Vol. III., "St. Anselm." Vol. IV., "Spencer." London : Macmillan & Co.

"Twelve English Statesmen." "William the Conqueror," by E. A. Freeman. "Cardinal Wolsey," by M. Creighton. "William III," by H. D. Traill. "Oliver Cromwell," by Frederic Harrison. London : Macmillan & Co.

"The Ancient World and Christianity." By E. de Pressensé, D.D. Translated by Annie H. Holmden. London : Hodder & Stoughton.

"A Visit to Europe and the Holy Land." By Rev. H. F. Fairbanks. New York : Catholic Publication Society Co. London : Burns & Oates. 1888.

"The Blessedness of the Dead in Christ, and other Sermons." By the late William Maturin, D.D. London : Macmillan & Co. 1888.

"St. John, the Author of the Fourth Gospel." By Howard Heber Evans, M.A. London : James Nisbet & Co.

"The Biblical Illustrator." By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. "S. Mark." London : James Nisbet & Co.

"The Banshee, and other Poems." By John Todhunter. London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

"Le Duc d'Enghien, 1772-1804." Par Henri Welschinger. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.

"Mémoires et Souvenirs du Baron Hyde de Neuville." Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.

"Prælectiones Philosophicæ, quas in Collegio Anglorum Vallisoleti olim habebat Thomas Quintianus Fleming. Ontologæ Pars. III. London.

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Record of Roman Documents.

BEATIFICATIONS.—The following are passing through the different processes:—

Venerable Leopold della Gaiche, Professed Priest of the Reformed Friars Minor. *Vid. Tablet*, March 24, 1888.

Father Fortunatus Redolfi, of the Barnabites of Carrobiele, in Monza.

Jerome Tiraboschi, Novice of the Regular Clerks of the Ministers of the Sick. *Vid. Tablet*, March 17, 1888.

Venerable Claude de la Colombiere, of the Society of Jesus.

Venerable Perboyre, Priest of the Congregation of the Mission of S. Vincent de Paul, Martyr in China. *Vid. Tablet*, May 19, 1888.

BERRETTA, PURPLE.—Privilege of wearing a purple berretta granted to all Bishops *in perpetuum*, as a Jubilee favour, Feb. 3, 1888. *Vid. Tablet*, April 14, 1888.

BUILDING OVER AN ORATORY.—Allowed, but not for sleeping apartments. (*S. C. C.*, July 23, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, March 31, 1888.

CANONIZATION, Proceeding with:—Blessed Pope Urban II. *Vid. Tablet*, March 17, 1888.

CONFRATERNITIES, RECTORS OF.—A parish priest, whose predecessor was Rector of a Confraternity, becomes himself Rector of the same Confraternity without requiring a fresh appointment. (*S. Cong. Indulg. et Reliq.*, Jun. 25, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Jan 14, 1888.

CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.—A church once consecrated, being afterwards enlarged, the altar pulled down, and the inside lined with stucco, is declared to be still consecrated, the lateral walls having been left standing. (*S. R. C.*, Jan. 16, 1886). *Vid. Tablet*, Feb. 11, 1888.

CROSSES BLESSED for the Indulgence “*in articulo mortis, toties quoties*,” are intended to be used only by the person for whom they were blessed. (March 25, 1888.) *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June, 1888.

DE PROFUNDIS.—Indulgence of fifty days, to be gained thrice a day, for reciting this Psalm with versicle, “*Eternal rest give to them*,” &c. (*S. Cong. Indulg. et S. Reliq.*, Feb. 3, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 9, 1888.

FORT AUGUSTUS.—Allotment of funds. (*S. Cong., Ep. et Reg.*, Aug. 12, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, April 7, 1888.

HOLY PLACES.—Brief of Pope Leo. XIII., ordering a collection for the Holy Places to be made in every parochial church at least once a year, and that on Good Friday or some other day at discretion of the Bishop. It bears date Dec. 26, 1887. *Vid. Tablet*, March 24, 1888.

INDEX.—I. Placed upon the Index:—

“*Histoire d'Israel*,” by E. Ledrain.

"Les Origines de l'Histoire, d'après la Bible et les Traductions des Peuples Orientaux," by François Lenormant.

"Les Saints Evangiles," by Henri Lasserre.

"Los Secretos de la Confession."

II. Removed from the Index :—

"La Dévotion au Sacré Cœur de N. S. Jésus Christ," par un Père de la Compagnie de Jésus. (*S. Cong. Indulg.*, Dec. 23, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, March 17, 1888.

INDULGENCES, TRANSLATION OF.—Indulgences are to be transferred along with the Feast for which they are granted, if the Feast be permanently translated. (*S. Cong. Indulg. et S. Reliq.*, Jan. 12, 1878.) *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Feb. 1888.

INSTRUCTIONS as to the power of the Ordinary to dispense *in articulo mortis* in certain public diriment impediments of Ecclesiastical Institution.

Also as to the execution of Dispensations granted by the Holy See, providing for cases where the death or accession of a Bishop changes the ruler of a diocese. (*S. Rom. et Univ. Inquis.*, Feb. 20, 1888.) *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June, 1888.

IRELAND.—Decision of the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition declaring the Plan of Campaign and Boycotting to be unlawful (*S. Rom. et Univ. Inquis.*, April 18, 1888). Also Circular Letter conveying the same to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland. (*S. Cong. de Prop. Fide*, April 23, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, May 5, 1888.

IRREGULARITY :—

I. A priest whose left arm has been amputated is dispensed from the irregularity. (*S. Cong. Cong.*, Aug. 20, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, April 21, 1888.

II. A priest whose sight has failed entirely in the right eye, and is very defective in the left, is dispensed from the irregularity; various reasons. (*S. C. C.*, Sept. 10, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, May 12, 1888.

ORATORIES, PRIVATE—For the power of Bishops to give permission to celebrate in Private Oratories. (*S. C. C.*, Dec. 20, 1856, and Feb. 17, 1862.) *Vid. Tablet*, May 19, 1888.

PENAL CODE, ITALIAN.—Allocution of Holy Father protesting against the Penal Code. (June 1, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 9, 1888.

S. VINCENT FERRER.—Prayer to this Saint indulged with two hundred days, to be gained once a day. (*S. Cong. Indulg. et S. Reliq.*, Sept. 17, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 2, 1888.

SEPTEMBER AND SOULS IN PURGATORY.—Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. ordering last Sunday of September to be kept as a day of solemn expiation for the Souls in Purgatory. (April 1, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, April 14, 1888.

SODALITIES.—All Sodalities of Our Lady and of the Bona Mors must be aggregated to the respective primary sodalities existing in Rome, before they can gain the Indulgences and enjoy the privileges granted to them. (*S. Cong. Indulg.*, Sept. 17, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, May 26, 1888.